MAYDAY 1971

OR,

HOW TO LOSE STREET BATTLES AND ALIENATE PEOPLE

Mayday:Mayday:Mayday:Mayday:Mayday:Mayday:Mayday
craterization:urbanization:instrumentation:Viet-
namization:twisted child:born deformed:mutation:
forest death:poisoned earth:tiger cages::burning
lime:screams:nuclear zones:Nguyen Van Thieu:die-
hard Nixon:Nixon's the One:listen:bamboo flutes:
cities steaming:daybreak:coming:Norman Morrison:
:Uncle Ho:Nguyen Van Troi::singing spirits:Viet-
nam's prayer to the American people::now:joining
hands:;Hanoi:Hue:Saigon:America:Europe:Laos:Cam-
bodia:future flashes::Mayday:wandering friends::
gypsies:freaks:Indians:black people::new nation:
Volunteers of America:farm trucks:100 walks:1000
flowers:flags:patches::towns::revolutionary pag-
eant:marching:running:coming:all for Vietnam:GIs
:Bob Hope::jungle mud::Hamburger Hill::spirit of
the bayonet::kill::lifers:FTA:free dope:fragging
officers::peace platoons::bead fatigues::support
our boys:WPAX::Mayday in Vietnam:Mayday in Wash-
ington::Joint Chiefs of Staff::National Security
Council:Central Intelligence Agency:Federal Bur-
eau of Investigation:::Atomic Energy Commission:
Department of Defense:Oval Office:Reckoning day:
Bobby:Erica:George:Angela:red:blue:star:inspira-
tion:brown rice:sunflower seeds:victory prepara-
tions:planes:trains:roads:phones:offices:bridges
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gy:high schools:jailbreak:cities:farms:churches:
factories:forts:prisons::revolt:peace enforcers:
Commerce::Treasury::Justice::Labor:circle around
the Congress:politicians:agents:administrators::
generals:presidents::kings::madmen:Mayday:planet
singing:world offering:people struggling:Vietnam
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Mayday - May 1-7 - Washington, D.C. - Students + Youth for a Peoples Peace - Mayday Collective - Room 406 - 1029 Vermont Ave. N.W. - Washington - D.C. 20005 - (202) 347-1615

MAY DAY BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

Historically May 1 has been the day of the oppressed. May 1 demonstrations have touched off major changes from reform to revolution and this year should be no exception. On May 1 people in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa will be expressing their solidarity with the Vietnamese people. We should join in that struggle. On May 1 people should mass in Washington and present the government with the peace treaty, demanding that Nixon respond within two days by calling an immediate end to the war. If the government refuses to heed the will of the majority for peace after years and years of patience the people should begin to implement the treaty themselves. Beginning on May 3 and continuing for the rest of the week people who presented the treaty and the thousands that will join them should close down the functioning of the federal government through massive civil disobedience. The demonstrations should be non-violent but disruptive--blocking streets, marches, strikes at schools and other places of work. To be effective--i. e.: to provide the spark that can coalesce the people who oppose the war into activity--we must be willing to do more than march. At the same time our tactics should not be seen as provocative even though those sorts of tactics may well be just. Civil disobedience is disruptive but it doesn't force the people involved to make a choice between revolution and the system. Revolution is a necessity, but many people who oppose that war don't yet believe this and they shouldn't be excluded from the movement. Civil disobedience will allow groups as diverse as church and youth groups to take part. It also means that people will be taking some risks, opening themselves to arrest. But mass arrest penalties for white people are still relatively light and the demonstration will not be Gandhi-like. People can and should defend themselves from attack.

MAYDAY-MAYDAY-MAYDAY

The presentation of the peace treaty May 1 in Washington should be linked with simultaneous demonstrations in all major cities and on all campuses. Washington is the most important focus, but May 1 should be a nation-wide movement. On May 3 and 4 when disruption begins in Washington young people will have to make a choice as to whether to come to D.C. or stay in their areas. Hopefully, most cities can contribute to both efforts with an initial focus on Washington during the first week of May and gradually moving that emphasis through strikes and demonstrations back to regions. This means that young people will be called upon for several weeks of sustained activity, something which will require a great deal of hard work and sacrifice. Thus we must begin now to inform people from everywhere of our plans, explaining our views on Nixon's new strategy. Talking with people from dormitory to unemployment office will be helpful. Women's groups, which will hopefully play a leading role in May Day, are critical. The anti-war movement must realize that its past chauvinist practices have hurt women and weakened our chances for peace.

BEYOND MAY 1

The demonstration in Washington, although critical to the success of the peace treaty, cannot be an end in itself. People should not drop ongoing projects but should relate them to the war. One of the weaknesses of the peace movement has been its inability to relate imperialism to the lives of non-student non-hip communities. Actually, great numbers of people in factories, offices as well as unemployment and welfare lines have begun to become aware that Vietnam affects their lives and that until the war is ended the job of reconstruction of this country is impossible. But if this kind of awareness is to grow, if this kind of unity can develop, it will be necessary for the movement to change. Elitist attitudes will have to change. We will have to talk to and learn from people we normally ignore. In fact, the movement should no longer be an "it"--a thing separate from the people but part of them.

In Washington

Has Terror Merely Begun

By Ralph deToledano

The stepped-up rate of bombings nationwide and the discovery in New York last week of detailed plans for a systematic terror campaign against 50 buildings are beginning to convince law enforcement agencies that the guerrilla warfare" long threatened by anarchosyndicalists and their Maoist allies in this country is on its way to becoming reality. The tip-off: Extremist groups and individuals, each going their own way in the past, have consolidated and are now co-ordinating their terrorist activities.

This consolidation took place at a strategy meeting of representatives of 17 New Left organizations in Milwaukee last June. At the time, the new coalition mildly announced to the underground and far-left press that it would "initiate year-round daily protest and resistance activity at the local and regional level" and launch "major national actions." Present at the meeting were leaders of hard-core extremists groups as well as a scattering of academic figures and members of several "respectable" organizations now in the process of being "radicalized."

A highly secret memorandum being circulated among the top echelons of the terrorist movement in the United States discloses that the coalition is moving into high gear. It now has a high command headquartered in Washington, D.C., and field staffs in the major cities—with New York, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, and Seattle serving as divisional command posts.

The memorandum is, in effect, the order of battle for an assault on the people and government of the United States. It is explicit enough to list targets,—cities, corporations, government buildings. Phase One of these plans, which calls for an acceleration of the pace and a broadening of the scope of what once seemed like haphazard and unmotivated bombing, is already being carried out—as reports from New York demonstrate.

Phase Two calls for the start of a concerted terror campaign against such industrial giants as General Electric, Honeywell, and the Standard Oil companies. The three corporations are specifically singled out, though no reason is given for this selection. GE has, of course, been the focus of steady terrorist attention for some time, as a major manufacturer of defense hardware.

Phase One and Two, however, are considered but curtain raisers for two all-out assaults. The first of these, the memo states, will be a massive attack on Wall Street which, the coalition is confident, will shut down the nation's financial nerve center and lead to a bloody confrontation with the police. It should be noted here that the Wall Street section of New York, with its narrow streets and heavy traffic, is ideal for guerrilla activity.

Experience gained in this operation will be employed in the coalition's most ambitious and dangerous project: To paralyze Washington and the Federal government. For this attempt, the coalition plans to send in 5,000 "collectives"—action units— to infiltrate the capital, posting themselves in strategic areas. The date: May Day, 1971. Targets will be the Department of Health, Education & Welfare, the Justice Department (which also houses the FBI), and Central Intelligence Agency installations. These buildings will be surrounded by "demonstrators" while other activists block ingress bridges from Virginia and prevent government workers from getting to their jobs.

There is one uncertainty in the minds of coalition leaders. They are aware that government counterplans have been drawn up for a giant crackdown, with systematic arrests and hardnosed prosecution. This was clearly indicated by President Nixon in the speech on violence which climaxed his campaign swing. But the coalition does not really care, even though its leaders know that Federal authorities are aware of their plans.

They have carefully studies the "Catechism of a Revolutionist"—a brief manifesto, drawn up by two Nineteenth Century nihilists, which deeply influenced Lonin. They see the rank-and-file members of the movement, in the words of the Catechism, as "instruments for stirring up disturbances in the State (who) much be continually pushed into dangerous actions, the result of which would be the destruction of the majority (of the conspirators) and the real revolutionary training of a few."

"Radicalizing," they call it now.

MAY DAY

TACTICAL MANUAL

MAY DAY TACTICAL MANUAL

INTRODUCTION

This manual is a first for a national action. The Ann Arbor Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace decided to organize Mayday on a regional decentralized basis. This means no "National Organizers." You do the organizing. This means no "movement generals" making tactical decisions you have to carry out. Your region makes the tactical decisions within the discipline of nonviolent civil disobedience laid down by the Ann Arbor Conference. That is why this manual was produced.

This manual is a supplement to the Mayday Orientation Sessions, which will be held April 3, 10, 17. If it is impossible for your region to send representatives to one of the sessions this manual will give you the basic information you need.

Coordination is being handled by the Tactics and Logistics section of the Mayday Collective, in D.C. The last page of this manual has a form you should send in as soon as you can answer the listed questions about your region. If you fail to mail or call in the answers to the questions there will be no D.C. logistical support for your region.

The words and target photographs in this manual were done by the Tactics and Logistics section of the Mayday Collective. The Mayday Collective is politically responsible to the Student and Youth Coordinating Committee which grew out of the Ann Arbor Conference. The Ann Arbor Conference is responsible for Mayday.

All graphics, layout, and production on this manual were done by brothers and sisters from WIN magazine, located at 339 Lafayette St., N.Y.C. 10012. We were lucky they thought enough of Mayday to do this manual. WIN is published every two weeks and relates to what's happening--the anti-war movement, counter-culture, ecology, etc.--from a nonviolent perspective. Subscribe if you can. It only costs $5.00 a year.

I. ON NONVIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

This is not a polemic. It is not designed to convince you to become a pacifist or argue against the theory of armed revolutionary struggle or people's war. It is an explanation of the tactic we will be using during the Mayday actions. The tactic is nonviolent civil disobedience. It was decided by the Ann Arbor Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace which issued the call for the Mayday actions that this was the most valid tactic for this period.

In brief, the aim of the Mayday action is to raise the social cost of the war to a level unacceptable to America's rulers. To do this we seek to create the spectre of social chaos while maintaining the support or at least toleration of the broad masses of American people. It is felt that given the current political climate in this country, it is suicidal to isolate ourselves from the 73% of the American people who wish an immediate end to the war.

The strategy that was developed at the Ann Arbor Conference sought to build support among the American people through the mass distribution and ratification of the People's Peace Treaty. With that basic "base building" well under way we would engage then in disruptive actions in major government centers, primarily Washington, D.C. (creating the spectre of social chaos) that would be supported by the "base." The tactic of nonviolent civil disobedience was chosen because it could be used effectively to disrupt government functions and yet still be interpreted favorably to the broad non-demonstrating masses of Americans. Also by engaging in nonviolent disruptions we severely limit the containment and dispersal options of the government and lessen the likelihood of coming into violent conflict with the G.I.s who will be ordered to disperse us and who we wish to win to our side.

America is a violent country. We are raised on a diet of violence, and therefore we feel we understand it. Nonviolent civil disobedience on the other hand is widely misunderstood and the extent of most people's knowledge is inaccurate characterizations. We need to be clear that we are not talking about an exercise in martyrdom; we are not talking about negotiated arrests; we are talking about using a tactic to attain an objective. The tactic is nonviolent civil disobedience. The objective is to close down the Federal gov-

ernment sections of Washington, D.C., by blocking traffic arteries during the early morning rush hours of May 3 and 4.

A working definition of nonviolent civil disobedience in this context would be: A) the actions we engage in are nonviolent which means we don't trash or street fight; B) we are "civil" which means we will try to express our solidarity and friendship with G.I.'s and attempt to see the rank and file policeman as a member of the working class who's simply on the wrong side; C) we will be disobedient which means no matter what anyone says, no matter what laws we break--we are going to reach our action target--the roads, bridges, and traffic circles leading into the Federal areas of Washington--and we will not leave our action targets until we have succeeded in our target objective or until we are arrested.

In earlier days the small pacifist groups developed out of necessity and preference a type of nonviolent civil disobedience that we could call the traditional school. Crudely put, this involved a very small group of people engaging in a "moral witness" of action that involved them breaking a specific law, almost always with advance notice to authorities. Much of the early civil rights actions--such as lunch counter sit-ins--followed this model. Recently another form of nonviolent civil disobedience has developed. This conforms more with our new life style. It is free, joyous, exciting, fun. It's yippies throwing money on the floor of the N.Y. Stock Exchange, draft card burnings in Central Park, the invasion and takeover of the N.Y. Tass offices during the invasion of Czechoslovakia and Sgt. Sunshine of the S.F. Police dept. lighting up a joint in front of the S.F. Police Building.

At the same time this new mode of action was developing among the white youth movement, nonviolent civil disobedience was being used in new ways by third world groups. Martin Luther King, Jr. pioneered the use of mass nonviolent civil disobedience in this country to challenge government racist policies. The Birmingham movement is perhaps the best example of these actions. Cesar Chavez and the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee consistently broke injunctions and picketing laws as they organized California farm workers and used nonviolent civil disobedience including sit-ins and shop-ins to enforce the grape and now the lettuce boycott. We're talking of combining this experience

with our life culture to create Mayday in Washington.

Flash on Gandhi.--An organic food vegetarian, a strong Indian culture freak who met the English Viceroy of India in a loincloth and organized civil disobedience campaigns which paralyzed entire sections of India--what comes to mind is thousands of us with bamboo flutes, tamborines, flowers and balloons moving out in the early light of morning to paralyze the traffic arteries of the American military repression government nerve center. Creativeness, joy, and life against bureaucracy and grim death. That's nonviolent civil disobedience; That's Mayday.

Finally, if for philosophical, political, or emotional reasons any people feel they cannot adhere to the tactic adopted by the Ann Arbor Conference we strongly urge them to stay home or engage in actions they organize at other times or other places. We feel it is reprehensible and manipulative to expose people who respond to the Mayday call for nonviolent civil disobedience to be exposed to forms of actions for which they are not prepared. In addition we expect large numbers of agent provocateurs to be present during Mayday. We think it would be unfortunate for brothers and sisters who are unable to adopt the style, discipline and tactics decided on through a long collective process to be mislabeled and dealt with as agent provocateurs.

II. THE SPRING PERIOD

The Mayday actions are to occur in the May 1-7 period. Mayday, however, should be seen in the context of an entire spring offensive that will begin the first week of April, reach a high point in May and continue on into the summer.

The schedule for the Spring Offensive is:

APRIL 25: "Tribute in Action to Martin Luther King." These actions are organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Welfare Rights Organization and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. There is a special emphasis on New York with a march on Wall Street on Monday, April 5, led by the SCLC Mule Train.

APRIL 10: Women's March on the Pentagon.

APRIL 18-23: Operation Dewey Canyon III organized by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War will take place in Washington, D.C. Vietnam vets, their families and the families of POW's and GI's killed in Vietnam will engage in intensive lobbying, vigils and guerrilla theater depicting search and destroy missions, torture and other activities of US forces in Indochina.

APRIL 24: "Algonquin Peace City," the encampment area for Mayday, opens in Rock Creek Park in Washington, D.C.

APRIL 24: Mass, legal, peaceful anti-war demonstration in Washington, D.C. by National Peace Action Coalition and PCPJ.

APRIL 26-30: Peoples Lobby in Washington, D.C. organized by People's Coalition for Peace & Justice. Will include civil disobedience at selected government buildings and congressional offices.

MAY 1-7: Mayday International--Major demonstrations will take place in large cities around the world. These actions will express solidarity with our Mayday and will focus on U.S. foreign policy. In South Vietnam the people of the large cities will rise up in massive street demonstrations challenging the U.S. presence.

MAY 16: Armed Forces Day. Support for anti-war GI actions at bases across the country.

MAY 25-28: NATO International Conference on Cities in Indianapolis. Nixon and other heads of state will be greeted with massive demonstrations.

THE MAYDAY SCENARIO

Saturday, April 24: Algonquin Peace City Opens

The first national implementation of the peace treaty is planned in Rock Creek Park, an Indian woodlawn area of 1,754 acres about 4 miles long and one mile wide in Washington, D.C. Algonquin Indians were the first inhabitants in the ancient mountain range. In late April, we'll settle again, along the drier ridges with the pignut and mockernut, white ash, black cherry, the yellow poplar and beech, being careful and loving of nature. Regions and constituent groups

can set up living communities or villages in one of the 70 odd picnic groves where there are tables, benches, sanitary facilities and usually a fireplace. People should bring their own tents, blankets, flashlights, transistor radio, rice and other foods, along with a cooking pot.

To cut down on confusion and ecological injury to our peace city, cars should not be driven into Rock Creek Park. Some people may want to park on the edge of Washington and walk into the city. Others may want to drive into the downtown Washington area and take buses to their villages. Bus transportation between Washington Monument Grounds and Algonquin Peace City will be provided at 11:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. every day by Mayday Motors. Detailed maps showing the village of every region in Algonquin Peace City will be available from information centers on the Monument Grounds. Any large group wanting to be listed on the map should call Mike Maslow (202) 347-7613.

It is in the interest of the government to provide us this park, for training in nonviolence and to keep us out of the streets at night. Should police clear the park at any time during the two weeks, however, it will be necessary that we know the various exits from our area of encampment. There are 15 miles of trails through Algonquin Peace City. Maps will be provided.

Algonquin Peace City is opening early in order to provide housing areas for the thousands of people staying after the demonstrations of April 24. Many of these people, as well as early Mayday arrivals will participate in the P.C.P.J. People's Lobby. Others will act as construction battalions to prepare the park for the massive May 1 influx of people.

Map number one in this manual shows you the layout of Rock Creek Park. Two weeks prior to May 1st, maps will be available from the Mayday Washington office giving the location of regional campsites.

If bloodroot, fawnlily, toothwort and spring beauty bloom doesn't turn you on, Mayday has secured housing for twenty-two thousand people in churches, universities and private homes.

SATURDAY, MAY 1:

CELEBRATION OF THE PEOPLE'S PEACE

Most Mayday participants will arrive on May 1st. People will be coming in by chartered bus, car caravans, and long walks. The morning will be devoted to the May 1st arrivals setting up camp in their regional area villages and getting to know the land.

In the early afternoon the celebration will begin. The Mayday Collective is currently assembling a list of well-known rock groups that will play. The list of groups playing in the Peace Treaty Celebration Rock Show will be released as soon as possible.

The Celebration, with rock bands, and dancing, singing, and smoking in the fields will last late into the night. Bring along bamboo flutes, drums, guitars and tamborines, and the woods will be filled with people's music.

Sometime during the day of May 1st the SCLC Mule Train and hundreds of people who marched with them from Wall Street to Washington will arrive in Algonquin Peace City. They'll set up camp and join us in the Celebration of the People's Peace.

SUNDAY, MAY 2

We'll sleep late. In the late morning, the population will follow the SCLC mule train out of the park to the Sylvan Theatre near the Washington Monument grounds. We will march down Rock Creek Parkway.

At the Sylvan Theatre we'll join SCLC, National Welfare Rights Organization and the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee in a rally calling for an end to the war against American Poor People. This will be the last opportunity for Nixon to announce an end to the war before we fulfill our promise: If the government won't stop the war, we'll stop the government.

In the evening we march back to Algonquin Peace City for food, cultural activities and turning in early for a good sleep.

MONDAY & TUESDAY, MAY 3 and 4, at 6 A.M.:
NONVIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The population of Algonquin Peace City will disperse in regional groups to their target areas for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience (see sections III, IV, VI, for details). PCPJ joins with us along with religious forces, such as Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, SCLC, NWRO, and pacifist organizations, such as the War Resisters League, and the American Friends Service Committee.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5-7

All across the country, on May 5, people respond to the call for "No Business as Usual" in a massive people's strike Against the War. At Algonquin Peace City the people not arrested on Monday and Tuesday take camping gear and food and move camp to the Capitol Building where we lay a nonviolent siege demanding that congress ratify the Peoples Peace Treaty (See Section VI for details).

We will be joined by masses of people from the PCPJ, SCLC, NWRO, AFSC, WRL, CALCAV, Women's Strike for Peace, and other groups. We'll stay at our siege encampment until the treaty is ratified or all are arrested.

III. ORGANIZATION FORM

The decision of the Ann Arbor Student & Youth Conference on a Peoples Peace was that the organization for Mayday be decentralized with organizational forms being decided on a regional basis. Because of this the entire Tactics and Logistics section of the Mayday Collective in Washington is oriented toward providing information, support, and coordination only. There are no movement "generals" sitting in closed rooms making decisions binding on any participant.

All organizing and preparation for the action must be done at the regional level. No "National Office Organizers" will do it for you (or to you). What the Tactics and Logistics section has done is number the targets, prepare this manual, prepare intensive orientation sessions for regional representatives, and act as a coordination center for various regions which have selected targets.

Once you have established a regional structure and

begun organizing for Mayday, contact the Tactics and Logistics Section of the Mayday Collective at (202) 347-7613 (ask for Jerry Coffin, Lynne Shatzkin, Nancy Fowler, or Rick Lubin).

Arrange to send two or three regional representatives to Washington on Saturday April 3, Saturday April 10 or Saturday April 17 to attend a Mayday orientation session. The subjects covered will include an overview of the Mayday actions, discussions of specific targets, Algonquin Peace City information, medical and legal information. In addition there will be tours of Washington and Rock Creek Park. Following the orientation sessions the regional representatives will be asked to select a target for their region and, on the basis of projected numbers of people from their region, select a campsite in Rock Creek Park.

Every phase of the Mayday actions is organized on a regional basis. Individuals coming into Washington will be asked to join with whatever apparatus represents their region in Washington. Prior to Mayday, maps and leaflets will be published listing the target areas and campsite locations of every region the Mayday Collective is in touch with.

This May we will see the culmination of an exciting and important experiment. Can national actions dependent on self motivated regional organization succeed? Our politics, our style and our instincts say it will work. Mayday will be the test.

Note: There are several constituency groups (Gays, Women, Third World) planning to function as distinct groups outside of the regional structure. These groups will function much the same as the regions with their own targets and campsite areas.

IV. MAYDAY NONVIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE: THE TACTICAL OVERVIEW

OUR APPROACH

Washington, D.C., is a colony. It is ruled by a committee of Congress made up of racist white southerners. The overwhelming number of people living in Washington are black. Virtually the only industry in Washington is the Federal Government, with the overwhelming majority of the em-

ployees being white, and, with a few exceptions, all upper echelon employees being white. This means that most employees of the Federal government commute to work each day from the suburbs of Virginia and Maryland.

Because of the racist nature of the Federal government, closing down the apparatus that controls the War against Indochina and America's oppressed is a relatively easy operation if it is coordinated.

Twenty-one targets have been selected for the Mayday nonviolent civil disobedience. The targets (see Map no. 2) are broken into two general categories: (1) traffic circles and (2) bridges. These targets if blocked during the early morning rush hour will seal off the Federal Triangle area of Washington and the Pentagon. All of the targets selected deal directly with the Federal Government and blocking these targets will have a minimum impact on the surrounding black community. These targets were specifically chosen to minimize disruption of the black community. No disruptive actions will take place North of Massachusetts Avenue NW or East of 6th Street SE and NE, which are the boundaries of the black community.

Actually sealing off a section of an American city through nonviolent direct action has never been attempted before in an organized fashion. The experience of May, 1970, however, shows that it can be done. During the Cambodian crisis many cities had main thoroughfares blocked by nonviolent action, including sit-downs and street parties. In several instances the thoroughfares were six and eight lane expressways. It can be done!

From a propaganda point of view, and to minimize the number of enemies we will produce, the style and method of our actions are crucial. Our disruption of Washington must be seen as an attack on the Federal Government, specifically those sections dealing with the war against the people of Indochina and America. It must not be seen as an attack on the employees of the Federal Government. We wish to win them as allies and so we need to minimize their antagonism towards us.

To divert our attention from institutions to persons employed in those institutions would be a serious political error.

Therefore, the days of May 3 and 4 are being projected as a government employees strike against the war. Our nonviolent civil disobedience actions are enforcing a two-day strike of government employees. If this is successful any employees caught in traffic jams will blame themselves for attempting to get to work and therefore, not us. In the happy event that the government orders all federal employees to be on the job, those caught in traffic jams will blame the government, and not us. One benefit of this will be an unconscious gratitude towards the anti-war movement for getting government employees a two-day holiday.

Our tactical approach to stopping the government is decentralization and concentration. By this we mean that the targets are decentralized and our demonstrators are concentrated. No target will have less than a thousand demonstrators and no major target (see map no. 2, targets bearing asterisks) will have less than three thousand demonstrators. Our targets are decentralized to a) insure the total halt of traffic and b) to increase the difficulty of Federal forces containing our demonstrations.

Government Response

On the basis of a careful reading of public and confidential government plans for containment of Mayday type actions and information secured from our sources inside the Federal bureaucracy and the military, the following is a general overview of the Federal Government's efforts to deal with Mayday. Specific late intelligence will be supplied by the Mayday Tactics and Logistics sections on May 1st.

General

The current plans call for a cooperative force of US Military (National Guard & Federal troops) and the DC police force. There will be no outside civilian police called in for Mayday. Agent provocateurs will say that Virginia and Maryland State Police have been called in to D.C. This is a lie designed to spread panic about the supposed brutality of Virginia and Maryland State Police.

Because of the limited number of D.C. police (5100 total, including clerks and 1000 headquarters personnel) the bulk of the defensive activities will be handled by the military.

The central tactic of the defensive forces will be psychological warfare. There will be a maximum display of military hardware; agent provocateurs will seek to spread panic and exacerbate normal tensions in Algonquin Peace City (Rock Creek Park) in order to break our morale. There will be extensive use of helicopters to attempt to intimidate us and rumors will be spread that a helicopter with gas spraying devices (M 5 disperser) are about to attack Algonquin Peace City and/or target areas.

GI's, meanwhile, will be subjected to intensive "Psychological preparation" and indoctrination. They will be told we are armed, we intend to verbally harass troops, we intend to throw shit and bags of urine at them, that we will throw bottles, rocks, and we will all be carrying clubs.

Prior to moving into defensive positions, GI's will be told that Mayday forces have beaten several GI's. This is designed to create fear and resultant hostility among GI's and overcome the natural feelings of solidarity with us.

While temporary detention facilities are being prepared, the general defensive tactic will be dispersal and containment. Through the use of troop movement (wedges, etc.) there will be an attempt to break our concentration into easily contained small units and gas may be used at low levels and selectively (large amounts of gas will block the roads more efficiently than we could).

The primary removal tactic will be short term detention. This means people will be "arrested" and then released on the promise that they leave town. Threats of severe punishment for those breaking the promise will be made. The threats will be phony since they cannot be legally supported. In a last resort people will be arrested, booked and jailed in temporary detention facilities. Because of limited detention facilities an intense effort will be made by the Federal gov't to get everyone to bail out within twelve hours and leave town under "bail conditions," threatening severe punishment. Once "bail conditions" are set, the severe punishment can be carried out.

Because of the volatile condition of the Washington Black community and the active participation of SCLC and NWRO forces, physical brutality against demonstrators will be avoided unless defensive forces feel themselves physically threatened. Small scale selective brutality may be used

to panic and disperse demonstrators. Weapons of troops will be plainly displayed as well as jeep mounted machine guns (up to .30 calibre) and other armor, but because of the experience with the Kent-Jackson reaction, ammunition will not be issued. Rumors to the contrary will be encouraged by agent provocateurs.

Command

The main command for the Washington defense will be located in the Pentagon in a special "Washington Situation Room." There additional command centers are projected but the number may be expanded. An effort will be made to maintain "Unit Integrity" with certain military units being responsible for the defense of certain Mayday targets. These units will be under a "decentralized command" with the highest ranking officer on the scene being responsible, within defined limits, for the defense of the Mayday target using his own discretion.

Issuance of ammunition will be tightly controlled by the command centers.

Overall command will rest with the military, though our intelligence reports Chief Jerry Wilson and Mayor Walter Washington will be given the "illusion of control."

Intelligence

Many Mayday regions have already been infiltrated. An intensive Army intelligence operation is underway. In addition, there is close cooperation with the Justice Department and the FBI. The intelligence objectives are to identify leaders, numbers of participants, unstable elements, target areas, etc.

Agent provocateurs are assigned to project the image of Mayday as an undisciplined violent action. Mayday radio communications will be monitored and in some instances jammed with static or police information.

Logistics

Helicopters will be used extensively. Chinook heli-

copters are projected for use in the event of Mayday "stall-ins" to airlift cars off roads. Helicopters and small spotter planes will be used to track our movement. Jeeps will be equipped with barbed wire fences mounted on the front and machine guns for psychological purposes. Tanks will be highly visible.

There will be extensive use of fencing and barricades including, but not limited to, chain link, concertina, and barbed wire.

Troops will be housed in government buildings and on selected billet sites in and around Washington. There will be hot food for troops in most cases.

Bridge Defense

Troops will be used in large concentrations to line roads and prevent entry to bridges by pedestrians where practicable. In most cases troops will be behind barricades. Efforts will be made to prevent communication between troops and demonstrators.

Traffic Circle Defense

Defense of circles will be left mostly to D.C. police though military reinforcements will be used. Attempts will be made to prevent concentrations of demonstrations with gas and arrests used as a last resort.

OUR RESPONSE

In essence, our response is to maintain communications, prevent panic, and not allow ourselves to be chased out of town. We cannot prevent infiltration so efforts at keeping information "secret" will only serve to confuse participants. It is important that we consistently project that Mayday is a nonviolent action. Any fuzzing of that point will lend legitimacy to the rumors spread by provocateurs and cause people to stay away from Washington. The worst thing that can happen is a small, politically isolated action.

We need to work actively with GI's prior and during the action. At this time we can't expect a mutiny but we

can expect the overwhelming majority of GI's to be sympathetic though some will be outright hostile, but we should recognize that these will be isolated.

For communications, we suggest regions secure bull horns and short range talkies. The walkie talkie operators need to be familiar with the equipment and establish codes to prevent interception and false information from being beamed in on their frequencies. The radios can be easily jammed or be made useless by false messages being beamed in, so you should establish an alternate system such as runners. The Mayday tactics and logistics section will maintain several coordination centers and is setting up several alternative means of communication. We will monitor all police and military frequencies to provide up to date information for all participants. The information will be sent out over AM radio frequencies from special mobile transmitters. These transmitters will broadcast May 3 and 4 over clear channels and cover all twenty-one target areas. Every participant should bring a transistor radio.

Our own logistic preparation should be oriented towards individual self contained units. People should bring wire cutters for fences, squeeze bottles of water for gas, bamboo flutes, tamborines for people's music, balloons and flowers for joy, dope and food to share with the GI's and fellow demonstrators. And a transistor radio so we are all informed of what is happening.

V. TACTICAL APPROACHES TO TARGET AREAS

The following are a few of the nonviolent civil disobedience tactics being planned by various regions.

WAVES. The regional groups will be broken into units of 10-25 people. Monday morning the units will move in waves, one unit in each wave, onto the road. They will sit down in a circle, and pass the pipe and play music until arrested. The next wave will then move to the road. This will last until noon when the remaining people will return to Algonquin Peace City. The same thing will happen Tuesday. Any people remaining will move on Wednesday to the Capitol and stay until everyone is arrested. This tactic is particularly useful at traffic circles where there are many roads leading into the circle.

STREET PARTY. The regional group will move in mass to their circle target playing music and dancing, getting as close as they can to the target. They will disperse if gassed or charged with batons but always regroup. They stay put if threatened with arrest.

TROOP TEACH-IN. The region will encircle troops guarding a circle or line up several deep along troop lines protecting bridges. They will establish a one to one relationship to GI's and demonstrate solidarity. Food and dope will be passed. If a large group of GI's come over to our side the breech will be filled with demonstrators moving through and sitting in on the target road. The Mayday legal facilities will have special sections to serve troops who join us and a special GI counseling center will be located in Algonquin Peace City. These regions are bringing wire cutters to get through fences to the GI's. Wedges and other formations sent to break up the concentration of demonstrators will be absorbed amoeba-like and given intensive arguments about why they should join us.

SIT-IN. The region will march up a street towards a circle or bridge and when confronted by police or troops will sit down. They will maintain their ground until arrested.

VI. TACTICAL DESCRIPTIONS

Lay of the Land

The District of Columbia is most likely one of the easiest cities to understand and travel within, for it was one of the few which was laid out by a city planner.

The district is sectioned off into four areas, designated North West, North East, South West, and South East. Base lines for these sections are North, East, and South Capitol Streets and an imaginary line extending West from the Capitol Building.

Numbered streets run north to south; the lettered streets travel east to west. House and building numbers for each section start at each base line. For example, the 900 block on "C" Street, NW, is between 9th and 10th Streets, NW. The 300 block on 7th Street, SW is between "C" and "D" Streets, SW.

As one travels North, and the single lettered paths and trails in D.C. end, a new sequence appears, of one-syllable words, starting with "A" and continuing in alphabetical order. Once this order is finished, two-syllable words, starting again with "A" begin. For instance, in one part of NW Washington, Benton, Calvert, Davis, Edmunds, Fulton, Garfield, etc. appear, following "W" Street.

Pennsylvania Avenue is numbered the same as lettered trails. Connecticut Avenue is the same as a numbered path. Most other diagonal paths and trails have no standard pattern.

The plans of D.C. were made, based upon the lessons and experiences of the French Revolution of 1789. The architect for the city, an aristocratic Frenchman, designed the District so that it could be easily defended against a general insurrection of the populace.

All the main avenues were purposely built wide, with all the original streets being fed into a series of circles. The Paris experience showed that the avenues needed to be wide so trees felled from both sides would not meet and block the street.

For the defenders of the city, this enabled cavalry charges, one of the fiercest tactics of the period, to be used to clear the avenues of insurrectionists and maintain communications. The circles joining every street were designed for the purpose of mounting cannon.

With cannon in the circles, every street of the Capital could be swept with grape and chain shot, in the event of street demonstrations or insurrections.

Washington was the most militarily secure capital of the Nineteenth Century. That security, however, is now its insecurity, as the following tactical descriptions will reveal.

1. Site One

Site one, Rosslyn Plaza, is on the Virginia side of the Francis Scott Key Bridge, which connects George Washington Parkway, Lee Highway, Route 66 and Fort Myer Drive. It is probably one of the most heavily traveled single areas in the entire Metropolitan area.

Site one affords excellent, low, flat, open areas which are adjacent to nearly all the aforementioned major highways from Northern Virginia.

North of Rosslyn Plaza is the Marriot Hotel, where it was found, the "High Command" of the Pentagon regularly dine. As one leaves Key Bridge, traveling West, the Marriot Hotel is clearly visible on the right and it provides an excellent staging area and superb parking facilities.

Traffic, during rush hour, is normally stalled and it is believed that it would present extreme problems for the defense forces of the Federal Government to prevent any disruption from occurring. Massive defense of Rosslyn Plaza would normally disrupt traffic, one-third of which travels to the Pentagon, and the defense forces would thus be doing our job.

Also, use of gas in Rosslyn Plaza may be impossible since it is directly adjacent to the business section of Arlington and the "prestigious" Marriot Hotel. Their reluctance of using gas, however, is naturally not certain; we are merely speculating on probability.

2. Site Two

Site two, the D.C. side of Key Bridge, is restrictive in area and severely limited in mobility. "M" Street can be easily secured by defense forces.

Thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth streets are extremely steep, and can be easily blocked by police without affecting the flow of traffic at all.

The traffic both to and from Key Bridge is intense; congested traffic is normally a problem during rush hour. Whitehurst Highway, which travels under Key Bridge, is a major thorofare and can be relatively easily disrupted from a flat, open area which is directly adjacent to Key Bridge, "A" Street and Whitehurst. One word of caution: this open area is extremely small, perhaps supporting only several hundred people.

3. Site Three

This area is a comparatively isolated region, leading to the Theodore Roosevelt Bridge from the Virginia side.

There is a very great expanse of open grassy plains which lies next to the George Washington Parkway, Arlington Blvd., which leads, directly to the Pentagon, and Route 66, which directs traffic onto the TR Bridge.

This area, normally, carries relatively little traffic. However, if Rosslyn Plaza is disrupted, there is the possibility that traffic could be diverted to TR Bridge via Route 66.

4. Site Four

The D.C. entrance to the TR Bridge has one open land area which can accommodate large numbers of people. This area is the grounds for the Kennedy Performing Arts Center, presently under construction.

The Kennedy Arts Center lies adjacent to Rock Creek Parkway, a major interchange.

5. Site Five

The Virginia side of the Arlington Bridge contains acres upon acres of open space leading to the bridge. In the event that Fort Myer Drive is disrupted at Rosslyn Plaza (see Site one), Memorial Drive may be used as an auxiliary road to Fort Myer by Federal authorities.

Also, in the event all points South are effectively disrupted, Arlington Ridge Road, which changes into Route 110, may be utilized as one of the prime access roads, from Northern Virginia to the Pentagon.

6. Site Six

There is much land which can sever the Arlington Bridge entrance from the Lincoln Memorial grounds and the entrance to Rock Creek Parkway, and Ohio Drive South. There are very large grassy areas west of Lincoln Memorial facing the Potomac adjacent to Ohio Drive.

7. Site Seven

Washington Blvd., containing the only direct access roads to the Pentagon from northern points, contains large expanses of flat open areas.

Specifically, the first access route fed from Arlington Blvd. leads to the Pentagon North Parking Area, where tens of thousands of cars arrive daily. The terrain is flat and open and is bounded from the north by the Boundary Channel.

The second access route, Highway 110, leads from the area near Rosslyn Plaza directly to the Pentagon grounds itself. It travels under Washington Blvd. and splits off into a small operational access road which leads onto the Pentagon grounds itself.

There exist, in and around the Pentagon grounds, very large flat open spaces, particularly the area just north of the Pentagon.

Resistance from authorities is expected to be very rough, although it will be difficult to execute without a general disruption of traffic, which achieves our potential goal.

8. Site Eight

The loop just west of the Pentagon serves the Naval Annex, the US Marine Corps, and the Pentagon personnel via Washington Blvd., north to south, from the Arlington Bridge, Columbia Pike, and Shirley Highway, East and West.

Just south of the loop, massive road construction is underway. There are acres upon acres of flat open space at the loop on Washington Blvd. and the access ramp from Shirley Highway "West" are vulnerable to disruption particularly.

The Loop, specifically, is the main feedin to the Pentagon South Parking Area, and disruption of this general area could have demonstrable effects.

9. Site Nine

Shirley Highway, just south of the Pentagon South Parking Area boasts large flat open areas of land. Bordering the Pentagon Parking Area are large bushes which tend to obscure visibility of the Pentagon Parking Area considerably.

Shirley Highway is probably the key road to the Pentagon, the US Naval Annex and Henderson Hall, headquarters

for the US Marines, the latter two both off Washington Blvd. west of the Pentagon South Parking Area.

Expect, however, to find tight restriction on mobility, as Federal, local and military authorities will attempt to keep these areas, particularly Shirley Highway, open.

10/11. Sites Ten and Eleven

The Rochambeau Bridge and George Mason Bridge are possibly the two most heavily travelled bridges leading to and from Washington, D.C. The Rochambeau Bridge directs traffic into D.C. and the Mason Bridge directs traffic into Virginia. Both bridges, for simplicity, are known as the 14th Street Bridge complex.

In addition, the 14th Street Bridge is added greater importance because over 70% of the traffic flows to and from the Pentagon.

The two main arteries are the George Washington Parkway and Shirley Highway. There is a large open area of several acres between both the Rochambeau and Nixon Bridges, which also shares its borders with the George Washington Parkway and the Potomac River.

Just north of the 14th Street Bridge is the Marriot Hotel which offers a large parking lot. East of the Marriot Hotel and south of Shirley Highway, an additional several acres of open flat land exists.

There appears little likelihood that gas would be utilized here, because of the proximity to the Pentagon and the Marriot Hotel.

12. Site Twelve

The D.C. side of the 14th Street Bridge is one of the more heavily travelled thoroughfares in D.C. Approximately 70% of the traffic here will be Pentagon personnel.

The Jefferson Memorial grounds provide low level open spaces for massive gatherings. The area, however, will provide many logistical problems as the dispersal and containment tactic the federal authorities can employ can be ideally implemented at the Jefferson Memorial grounds.

The importance of this juncture is the fact that an enormous rate of traffic flow will be travelling to the Federal Triangle, where most of the government operates.

Specifically, the most vulnerable area is the exit of the 14th Street Bridge leading to the Case Memorial Bridge and 14th Street. There is one intersection which joins both immediately following the exit of the Bridge.

13. Site Thirteen

Washington Circle itself is massive and can accommodate large numbers of people. However, other than the Circle, there is little room for gathering. Adjacent to the circle is the George Washington University Hospital, with its emergency entrance facing Washington Circle.

There are several prestigious luxury apartments north of the circle which occupy most of the immediate land. K Street, in addition to intersecting with the circle, travels under the circle which might provide other complications.

It is, however, a major site, intersecting Pennsylvania, six blocks from the White House, with main artery, New Hampshire Avenue.

14. Site Fourteen

Dupont Circle, a crucial intersection where much traffic flows from the downtown "Federal Triangle" to the affluent, predominantly white NW section and Maryland suburbs.

The circle itself is open and provides easy accessibility to any of the particular arteries joined at Dupont.

Some of the more notable landmarks at Dupont are the Iraq Embassy, Riggs National Bank, the Washington Club and a Peoples Drug Store.

Some caution must be exercised at Dupont for Connecticut Avenue travels under the circle, from north to south.

15. Site Fifteen

Scott Circle, three blocks from Dupont Circle, sports much open land not only on the Circle green itself, but also in front of the Gramercy Hotel, which is south of the Circle

on Rhode Island Avenue. Also, there is a small lot adjacent to Scott Circle where the abandoned Philippines Embassy stands.

The main arteries, Massachusetts, Rhode Island Avenues, and 16th Street are often heavily travelled.

There is also much open space in front of the Australian Embassy and the infamous National Rifle Association, which are at opposite ends of Scott Circle on 16th Street.

16. Site Sixteen

Thomas Circle is a key junction for Massachusetts and Vermont Avenues. Massachusetts Avenue runs beneath Thomas Circle, yet there is a large open area, capable of sustaining several hundred people, directly south and adjacent to the Western end of the Massachusetts underpass.

Thomas Circle green is long and thin, divided into three separate areas by the circle access roads.

The Sonesta Hotel provides some area for mobility, which lies directly north of Thomas Circle.

Between 14th Street and Massachusetts Avenues, just east of the Circle green is a large parking lot which is unrestricted.

17. Site Seventeen

Mt. Vernon Square, joining Massachusetts and New York Avenues with K Street, provides a large area for manueverability in the green itself, where the D.C. Public Library is located. Directly west of the Library there is much land, which is increased by a church on K and Massachusetts Avenues, overlooking the Library.

18. Site Eighteen

The Commodore intersection, near Union Station has a large open area directly across from the US Post Office and National Guard Headquarters.

The two main arteries at Commodore, Massachusetts Avenue and North Capitol Street, lie adjacent in this open area, where perhaps 1/2 acre of land is available. The area is also several blocks from the Senate Office Bldg.

19. Site Nineteen

Stanton Park, a lower-middle class residential area, two blocks east of the Senate Office Bldg, is a small open area, measuring approximately 75 yards in length and 20 yards in width.

With the exception of Massachusetts and Maryland Avenues, which intersect at Stanton Park, there is little of importance. A gas station, a small church and a laundromat fill its borders.

20. Site Twenty

Seward Square, two blocks away from the 5th precinct of the D.C. Police Department, and three blocks away from the House of Representatives Office Building, has a small area of open land, where North Carolina and Pennsylvania Avenues intersect.

It is one of the major crossroads into the Federal Triangle from points east and southeast of D.C.

One disadvantage is that Seward is divided into four sections, thus forcing any large group to be vulnerable to the dispersal and containment strategy of the defense forces.

21. Site Twenty-one

Folger Park, although seemingly insignificant, does serve a vital purpose. Should the Seward Square disruption succeed, all eastbound traffic would be detoured to Folger. A tie-up at Folger would prevent much traffic arriving from eastern points to the Federal Triangle from reaching their destination.

Folger is a small park in a semi-residential, semi-commercial area. It is relatively isolated and is two blocks south of the House Office Buildings.

CAPITOL BUILDING

On May 5, Algonquin Peace City will shift its camping grounds from Rock Creek Park to the U.S. Capitol Building.

There, it is expected that we will lay a nonviolent

siege of the Congress, forcing it to remain in session until it ratifies the People's Peace Treaty or until we are all arrested.

At the present time, it seems very unlikely that the defensive forces of the Federal Government can do anything substantial in deterring us. The Capitol Building is endowed with massive areas of low, flat open space which logistically is difficult to defend.

If the Federal defense forces attempt to lay a 360 degree ring around the Capitol Building, we can merely ring them. If however, such a dubious plan is implemented by the Federal Government, they will have accomplished our task.

Come prepared to stay, bringing tents, blankets, etc. so that we can exist together and be as self-sufficient as possible.

VII. ARREST AND JAIL

It is said that the level of civilization of a society is measured by the quality of its prisons. It is certainly true in America that you cannot appreciate what repression and oppression are about until you have done a bit of time in jail.

The mere threat of jail has traditionally been an effective weapon against movements for social change. So long as our actions are limited to easily controlled "legal dissent" they are easily dealt with. Mayday is nonviolent civil disobedience. We expect most of the participants to be arrested and all participants to be prepared for possible arrest. It greatly enhances our tactical position if the jails and detention facilities are filled with demonstrators. The spectre of thousands of people jailed in the government's unsuccessful attempt to control Mayday will graphically demonstrate the political isolation of the warmaking government. The stopping of Washington will slow our power. Tens of thousands of us risking jail--going to jail--will make the choices painfully clear to America's rulers. End the War or face social chaos. On the other hand if we allow brief detention and/or the threat of arrest to chase us out of town Mayday may be contained.

Given our numbers, arrest, booking, detention, and

court procedures will be run on an assembly line basis. Upon arrest demonstrators will be photographed with their "arresting officers." When arrests occur in areas defended by the military, U.S. Marshals will be the "arresting officers." The photographs will be for identification purposes in the event of court action. After arrests people will be put in buses and transported to a booking area, usually adjacent to the detention area. Prior to busing men and women will be segregated. All arrest and booking procedure will be observed by the Mayday legal cadres. There will be, with rare exception, the same misdemeanor charge laid against all people arrested. Any people booked with a trumped-up charge (such as someone beaten by police and then charged with assaulting an officer) will immediately have his or her case assigned to a Mayday lawyer.

Detention facilities will be of a barracks variety. Upwards of 250 people will be housed in the same dormitory. This presents the opportunity for high energy non stop raps, political education, singing, etc. At this point it is important that group solidarity be developed and maintained. The food and facilities will be shitty. Extreme pressure will be placed on individuals to bail out immediately. Recognizance bail (meaning free) will be offered to those who will leave immediately. If solidarity is maintained and only those who absolutely must bail out leave everyone will be released together when Mayday is over. In jail, organization and solidarity can defeat efforts to divide and control us.

Experienced cadre will be present in all detention facilities to interpret the actions of the special courts that will be convened to deal with us. All Mayday lawyers will have special identification cards. Be wary of lawyers not holding these cards since they will not be aware of the politics and purposes of Mayday.

Finally, rumors of extreme fines and jail terms will be rampant. Ignore them. The maximum fine levied in Washington in mass arrest situations has been $25. In most cases the fine and bail has been $10. If we maintain our solidarity we should all be released with no charges.

Note: As with everything in this manual this section will be updated and copies available in Algonquin Peace City on May 1.

Conclusion

You've read the Manual. Now a list of things that need to be done.

1. If you don't have a regional organization, organize one. When it's done, let us know. Call 202-347-7613.
2. Send regional representatives to an orientation session. Call 202-347-7613 to set it up.
3. Fill out the following form and get it into the Mayday Collective, Tactics and Logistics Section.

Logistics Preparation Form

1. Area your region covers__ _____
2. Name of region_____
3. How many from your region will be in D.C. Mayday (best estimate)_____
4. What is your target__ _____
5. Who's your regional contact person?

Name__ _____ ___ __ __.

Address_____

Phone_____

Mayday Collective
Tactics and Logistics
1029 Vermont Ave., N.W. Rm. 906
Washington, D.C.

or call: 202 347-7613 (Coffin, Lubin, Fowler, or Shatzkin)

(Received from the Mayday Collective on March 22, 1971.)

Manual on Militant Tactics Wins Admiration of Military

WASHINGTON, May 2 (UPI)— Career military officers view with admiration the professionalism of a "tactical manual" antiwar militants put together for the attempt to halt government business here this week.

And they suspect more than a little that the 24-page booklet is the product of one of their own, probably an ex-officer who got his training in troop movements and deployment from the Army.

Copies of Manual Studied

Complete with photographs of the 21 key locations where protesters plan to block traffic during morning rush hours, the manual describes how to create "the specter of social chaos" in the capital and estimates the strength and nature of police activity to opopse this.

Copies of the manual were circulated thru the Pentagon late last week—usually thru unofficial channels—as officers tried to judge for themselves the potential for disruption. Many were surprised by what they saw.

"This was done by someone who had the best training available—the United States Army," said one infantry colonel.

He said it was a miniature version of the type of operations plan and intelligence estimate that might be prepared for a real military operation. The primary difference, he said, was that the manual lacked fine details in the planning of how to carry out the operation.

But he said it was "obviously" the work of one or more former officers, rather than just enlisted men.

Someone Learned Well

"We taught someone real well," said another Army officer. "A lot of thought has obviously gone into this, and they've devised some beautiful tactics. Of course, there's a lot of difference between making good plans and actually implementing them."

The manual was issued by the so-called Mayday Tribe, a militant offshoot of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice which has been demonstrating here for a week. The Mayday group's aim is to tie up traffic here tomorrow and Tuesday so that federal employes cannot get to work and government business is halted.

The manual calls for a minimum of 35,000 demonstrators to turn out at dawn—3,000 at each of seven major traffic circles and bridge entrances to be blocked, and at least 1,000 at each of 14 less important locations.

Pentagon Stands Aside

Unlike preparations for past demonstrations, the Pentagon has remained almost entirely out of the planning on how to deal with the Mayday Tribe disruptions. Instead, the planning has been carried out by the Justice Department and Washington police.

"We hope we don't have to use federal troops to do anything except guard the Pentagon," one defense official said. "Until the Justice Department or the President asks for us, we're staying out of it."

"May Day" 1971

Civil Disobedience and the Vietnam Antiwar Movement

GEORGE W. HOPKINS

> Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine.
> —Henry David Thoreau, 1849

> There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart that you can't take part; you can't even tacitly take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus and you've got to make it stop.
> —Mario Savio, 1964

> To dislocate the functioning of a city without destroying it can be more effective than a riot because it can be longer-lasting, costly to the society but not wantonly destructive.
> —Martin Luther King, Jr., 1967

> If the government won't stop the war, we'll stop the government.
> —May Day Tribe, 1971

On 3 May 1971, more than 15,000 anti-Vietnam War activists—many identifying themselves as members of the May Day Tribe—attempted to shut down the operation of the federal government in Washington to protest the continuation of the war. While previous antiwar demonstra-

tions had often included civil disobedience as a component, this unprecedented protest differed in intensity, size, and purpose: mass civil disobedience was its goal. It would not be merely an offshoot of a larger march. The use of mass, nonviolent civil disobedience against what many perceived to be the illegitimate policy of an unresponsive government resulted in the largest mass arrest in American history: more than 7,200 people were incarcerated that day. More than 5,000 arrests followed at May Day actions during the next two days. Although the activists failed in their ultimate goal, controversy over the nature of the protests and the government's response (illegal dragnet arrests and preventive detention) polarized public opinion. Questions of citizens' rights, government repression, and civil liberties for radical demonstrators intensified the ongoing debate over American involvement in Indochina.[1]

Controversy over nonelectoral strategy and tactics continually agitated the multileader, multiorganization antiwar movement. From 1967 through 1970, the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam (Mobe) struggled to present a united front against the Indochina policies of the Johnson and Nixon administrations. Within the Mobe, those who advocated mass, legal demonstrations as the only appropriate tactic argued with proponents of civil disobedience; others debated whether a single-issue focus on the war had more effect than a multi-issue campaign that included racism, repression, and poverty. Ideological perspectives also fueled dissension, as liberals, radicals, socialists, communists, anarchists, pacifists, and others wrangled over issues.[2]

By the summer of 1970, many antiwar activists had become frustrated. After continual clashes over strategy and tactics, the antiwar movement's united front coalition was defunct. The Mobe dissolved in the wake of its 9 May Washington demonstration that it had called to protest the invasion of Cambodia and the Kent State killings. According to radical pacifist and demonstration co-marshal Bradford Lyttle, "about 120,000 morally outraged people were assembled at the Ellipse, at least 20,000 of whom were prepared for the risks of a determined civil disobedience action." But no call for such action came because of lack of consensus among the Mobe Steering Committee and disagreement among civil disobedience advocates about the type of action to undertake. The anticlimactic demonstration disillusioned many activists who criticized the Mobe's "spring picnic" as an insufficient response to further aggression abroad and deadly repression at home.[3]

As the Mobe dissolved, two new organizations emerged that reflected the divisions over strategy and tactics within the antiwar move-

ment. On 21 June more than 1,500 activists committed to the single-issue, single-tactic approach met in Cleveland and established the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). A week later more than eight hundred advocates of the multi-issue, multi-tactic perspective met in Milwaukee to form what would become the National Coalition Against War, Racism, and Repression (NCAWRR). Partisans of both coalitions began immediately to snipe at each other. Many NCAWRR activists considered NPAC Trotskyist-dominated, and many NPAC members satirized NCAWRR as the "new coalition against everything."[4]

While the antiwar movement restructured itself, veteran pacifist, anarchist, and Chicago Eight defendant Dave Dellinger articulated the concerns of many activists dissatisfied with the limited choices of "endlessly repeated marches and rallies, on the one hand, or mindless, counter-productive violence, on the other." Dellinger argued that "there is a third non-electoral alternative—open, disciplined, carefully focused non-violent resistance." While "periodic marches and rallies" remained useful mass mobilizations, Dellinger believed that "such activities as work stoppages, draft-board disruptions, and other organized attempts to paralyze the war machine . . . [would] add power and variety to the movement's assortment of tactics."[5]

What Dellinger advocated went beyond traditional concepts of civil disobedience. Proponents of Gandhian and Quaker methods wanted to bear witness to injustice, hoping to speak truth to power, confront the conscience of their opponents, and spark a conversion experience within the oppressor through deliberately unlawful, public acts of protest—performed conscientiously and nonviolently—including submission to arrest.[6] Dellinger argued for a more active, militant form of civil disobedience. He had less interest in converting opponents than in pressuring them to change or stop their unjust actions through the power of nonviolent mass disruption.[7]

Dellinger and others also found support for their advocacy of nontraditional civil disobedience from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. By 1967, King had come a long way from his 1963 "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." When he encountered persistent white opposition to his civil rights crusade in northern cities, King had threatened the use of mass civil disobedience to pressure (not convert) those communities as well as to provide an alternative to violence and rioting. King observed that "to dislocate the functioning of a city without destroying it can be more effective than a riot because it can be longer-lasting, costly to the society but not wantonly destructive."[8]

Veteran activist and Chicago Eight defendant Rennie Davis became convinced that this tactic had to be the antiwar movement's next step: "I decided we needed to do what Martin Luther King had done—take a mass mobilization to the civil disobedience level. The concept of shutting down the government was a more electrifying idea. I thought that mass civil disobedience was needed for its impact on this country and also on North Vietnam."[9] At the Milwaukee conference in June, Davis and Arthur Waskow had presented "A Proposal for the Formation of Liberation Collectives and Brigades and for the Disruption/Liberation of Washington," a prototype scenario of May Day actions that would be used to pressure the government to end the war or face massive civil disobedience. The conference deferred action on the proposal. In July, Davis and Waskow presented the idea to the pacifist National Action Group (NAG). Although Brad Lyttle and several others backed the plan, the majority opposed it.[10]

Davis also explored other avenues of support for the scenario. In August he presented a plan—which called for mass, nonviolent, disruptive actions in Washington if the government had not ended the war by 1 May—to the National Student Association (NSA) annual convention. In a close vote, 150-134, delegates defeated the proposal. However, NSA did approve another Davis proposal to send delegations to Saigon and Hanoi to negotiate a symbolic treaty of peace with Vietnamese student associations, a People's Peace Treaty. NSA would then sponsor a Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace to ratify the treaty.[11] In September, NCAWRR's formal founding conference indicated strong support for the May Day proposal in principle, recommending the plan to its constituent groups.[12]

Armed with NSA's endorsement of the People's Peace Treaty idea and NCAWRR's sanction of the May Day actions, Davis went to colleges and universities in the fall of 1970 to build support for both projects. Many students responded favorably to his proposals. These politically and often culturally radical constituencies, quickly dubbed the "May Day Tribe," challenged the Student Mobilization Committees that dominated campus antiwar organizing. These student organizations mirrored the divisions between NPAC and NCAWRR within the larger antiwar movement. At the same time, the development of the May Day Tribe as "an independent youth force" provided Davis, Michael Lerner of the Seattle Eight, and others with an organizational base separate from, but related to, NCAWRR. Should coalition support waver, militant civil disobedience advocates now had an alternative network of support for May Day.[13]

The May actions soon became embroiled in internecine conflict between NPAC and NCAWRR. At an NPAC conference in Chicago on 4 December, NPAC and NCAWRR leaders quarreled over the dates for the spring actions. NCAWRR had already scheduled its own conference for early January to finalize plans for its April and May actions, including the well-publicized May Day scenario. NCAWRR leaders asked NPAC to postpone setting a date for its mass marches in Washington and San Francisco until after NCAWRR's January meeting. Then unified spring actions could be planned that would be linked to international protests expected in May. But NPAC delegates rejected the proposal and voted to hold their mass marches on 24 April. Each group saw the other in the worst possible light. To NPAC, NCAWRR appeared elitist and antidemocratic; to NCAWRR, NPAC appeared manipulative by knowingly setting the date for its mass action one week before the May action. To May Day organizer Michael Lerner, NPAC's action seemed to be a deliberate effort to undermine their plans: "The Trotskyists knew that it would be extremely difficult to convince people to stay in Washington for *two* consecutive weekends."[14]

The 8 January NCAWRR meeting was also contentious. After extensive discussion the conference took no position on NPAC's 24 April march. Furthermore, several hundred delegates argued over the nature of May Day. Davis and Dellinger spoke for the disruptive direct action proposal, while Ron Young of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Cleveland activist Sid Peck advocated more traditional civil disobedience. The result was an ambiguous endorsement of a variety of "nonviolent and militant" antiwar protests during 1–8 May, "going beyond rallies and demonstrations, but also including them, into active struggle." For May Day organizers, the conference proved disappointing. It also confirmed their earlier decision to develop "an independent youth force committed to the May action."[15]

The People's Peace Treaty represented that youth force. Negotiated in late 1970 by a NSA delegation, the treaty called for an immediate cease-fire as soon as the U.S. announced "immediate and total withdrawal from Viet Nam, and publicly set the date by which all U.S. forces will be removed," as well as other provisions. Numerous peace and pacifist groups had endorsed the treaty concept, linking it to the Hatfield-McGovern proposal to set a date for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Of particular importance to May Day, the document concluded: "As Americans ratifying this agreement, we pledge to take whatever actions are appropriate to implement the terms of this joint treaty of peace, and to ensure its acceptance by the government of the United States." By

February 1971 more than two hundred college and university student governments had endorsed the treaty.[16]

Formal ratification of the People's Peace Treaty occurred when two thousand delegates approved the document at the NSA's Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace held 5–7 February at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Debate then began over implementation of the treaty. As news reports of South Vietnamese and American troop buildups on the Laotian border heightened concern about an expanded war, Rennie Davis, Mike Lerner, and others forming the May Day Collective proposed giving the government until 1 May to ratify the treaty. If the government did not endorse the treaty, mass civil disobedience would disrupt the operation of the government until ratification occurred or all demonstrators were arrested. The conference adopted the May Day plan as an enforcement measure to implement the treaty. Socialist Workers party stalwart Fred Halstead, opposed to the May Day action, noted that "Rennie Davis finally had the vehicle he sought, dedicated to carrying out his tactic, and backed by the authority of a sizable national conference."[17]

Meanwhile, the National Coalition Against War, Racism, and Repression reconstituted itself as the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). Its organizational membership, leadership, and perspective remained essentially unchanged, except for the inclusion of Students and Youth for a People's Peace—more commonly known as the May Day Tribe. At a joint press conference the day after the Ann Arbor conference, PCPJ spokesperson Dave Dellinger told reporters about the week of activities it would sponsor in Washington beginning 1 May: "We must move from expression of opinion to action. We have to move to the stage of force without violence." Rennie Davis, speaking for Students and Youth for a People's Peace, explained the May Day scenario: "Unless Nixon commits himself to withdrawal by May 1—that is, if he won't stop the war—we intend to stop the government." Davis was also one of several PCPJ national coordinators. With PCPJ endorsement, May Day gained additional momentum.[18]

The very day of the PCPJ–May Day Tribe press conference, South Vietnamese troops, supported by U.S. air power, invaded Laos. This widening of the war convinced many activists to join May Day. The poor performance and abrupt retreat of South Vietnamese troops increased antiwar opinion in the United States. By April a Gallup Poll showed that 73 percent of the American people wanted all U.S. troops withdrawn

from Indochina by 31 December 1971. Yet the Nixon administration's refusal to set the date for such action, let alone order immediate withdrawal, fueled May Day militancy.[19]

PCPJ and NPAC continued to quarrel over antiwar activities. However, PCPJ asked NPAC to join it on Saturday, 1 May, to hold workshops and other legal activities followed by a legal, peaceful mass rally on 2 May, which PCPJ hoped would also build support for mass civil disobedience on 3 May. NPAC, while glad "that [PCPJ] now express[ed] a recognition of the need for mass action against the war, as distinct from civil disobedience," noted the confusion over 1 May and 3 May as dates for civil disobedience action, rejected the 2 May proposal, and urged PCPJ to join with them on 24 April. Reluctantly, PCPJ agreed to cosponsor the 24 April NPAC march and canceled its 2 May rally. PCPJ would also, on its own, project the demands of its civil- and welfare-rights groups on 24 April and publicize the May action. The two coalitions also agreed "to stay out of each other's way—no May Day civil disobedience on 24 April and no attempt by NPAC to interfere with it on the May Days."[20]

Feeling politically isolated and organizationally weak, PCPJ had arrived at this decision after David McReynolds of the War Resisters League and several other pacifists proposed that PCPJ teach nonviolent civil disobedience techniques to all May Day demonstrators between 25 April and 3 May. During the same week, PCPJ would also conduct a People's Lobby with Congress and federal employees about the war, publicize the People's Peace Treaty, and explain the 3 May actions. This plan wisely focused activists' energies on outreach and communication while also stressing self-discipline on the streets. In addition, the May Day Tribe's acceptance of the plan reassured many traditional pacifists within PCPJ who feared that the Tribe's nontraditional, confrontational, disruptive approach to civil disobedience might quickly degenerate into violence. Some May Day organizers, however, greatly resented PCPJ's cosponsorship of the 24 April march as bowing to Trotskyist pressure and viewed cancellation of the 2 May rally as "a severe blow to May Day."[21]

Meanwhile, in March, the Nixon administration began "extensive interdepartmental meetings" with federal and district agencies to plan its response to the upcoming demonstrations, especially May Day. President Nixon put Attorney General John Mitchell in charge of the project, reportedly telling him that the "demonstrators were to be allowed no semblance of a victory in tying up the government." According to one administration source, "Short of killing people, Nixon had given Mitchell a blank check." Mitchell in turn named Deputy Attorney General Rich-

ard Kleindienst to head the task force. The administration's new Intelligence Evaluation Committee considered preventive detention measures among its options.[22]

Even while the government made its plans, May Day organizing continued unabated. The Ann Arbor conference had decided that plans for May Day would be developed on a decentralized basis. This unprecedented strategy developed in reaction to the perceived top-down, hierarchical organization of other antiwar groups. The May Day Collective in Washington limited itself to "providing information, support, and coordination *only*." The collective published and distributed the *Mayday Tactical Manual*, which told activists to make their own plans and decisions "within the discipline of nonviolent civil disobedience." The *Manual* did identify and number twenty-one targets, traffic circles and bridges, and assigned them to different regional groups. Several constituency groups (women, gay, and Third World activists) requested and received their own targets, but organization and tactics remained their own responsibility: "No 'National Office Organizer' will do it for you *(or to you)*." The only other caveat was to avoid disruptive actions near the District's black community.[23]

Organizers stressed their serious purpose: "The aim of the Mayday action is to raise the social cost of the war to a level unacceptable to America's rulers." The use of nonviolent civil disobedience would be combined "with our life culture to create Mayday in Washington." Fusing New Left activism with the counterculture projected the image of "Gandhi with a raised fist." The scenario envisioned "thousands of us with bamboo flutes, tamborines *[sic]*, flowers and balloons moving out in the early light of morning to paralyze the traffic arteries of the American military repression government nerve center. Creativeness, joy, and life against bureaucracy and grim death. That's nonviolent civil disobedience; that's Mayday."[24]

More pragmatically, the *Manual* suggested tactics such as waves of ten to twenty-five people sitting down at a target until arrested, followed by additional waves of demonstrators. Street parties with music and dancing would disperse if gassed or charged but otherwise submit to arrest. Troop teach-ins would talk with GIs guarding targets and encourage them to join the demonstrators. The *Manual* also briefed demonstrators on likely police and military responses to planned traffic disruptions. Participants were told to expect to be arrested and jailed. Rumors of police brutality, extreme fines, or lengthy jail terms were to be ignored as disinformation designed to intimidate activists. The jailing of thousands

of demonstrators "will make the choices painfully clear to America's rulers. End the war or face social chaos." [25]

The May Day Collective also produced *Time Is Running Out*, an emotionally powerful, thirty-minute film about "the Vietnamese people's centuries of struggle for independence." Folk singer Joni Mitchell narrated the film, which was shown on many campuses. Often Rennie Davis or Mike Lerner spoke afterward about how federal employees were "good Germans" just doing their jobs while the slaughter went on. May Day meant to disrupt and stop that business-as-usual attitude, while pressing for ratification of the People's Peace Treaty and an end to the war. The film and speakers, as well as distribution of copies of the People's Peace Treaty and literature about May Day, sparked widespread interest. But how many people would actually come to the capital remained problematic.[26]

The antiwar movement's Spring Offensive began on 19 April when more than one thousand members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) launched a five-day "limited incursion into the country of Congress" known as Operation Dewey Canyon III, a parody of the code name of the invasion of Laos. Dressed in fatigues, the veterans—many with long hair, some disabled—held memorial services for fallen comrades, conducted guerrilla theater search-and-destroy missions, and testified against the war before Congress. On 23 April, more than 700 VVAWs threw their medals over a fence in front of the Capitol as a final gesture. The next day, the NPAC-PCPJ March on Washington attracted between 200,000 and 500,000 participants, with an additional 150,000 marchers in San Francisco. Despite press reports of a generic antiwar march, it was an impressive mass mobilization drawn from a cross-section of the American public—by far the largest ever. Some May Day people viewed the march as "nothing but hors d'oeuvres for what's to come this week and next." [27]

During the week before May Day, Rennie Davis continued to predict that 50,000 demonstrators would take part. Pacifists and peace groups began training demonstrators in nonviolent civil disobedience in West Potomac Park.[28] PCPJ's People's Lobby urged Congress to end the war, while others staged traditional civil disobedience actions at the Selective Service headquarters, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. These actions resulted in almost eight hundred peaceful arrests.[29] Meanwhile, on 28 April, five members of the May Day Collective testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to present the People's Peace Treaty and to urge committee members to sign it. They charged the Senate with abdicating

its constitutional responsibility to declare war and challenged the committee to filibuster until the administration stopped the war. Much of the publicity value of this dialogue became overshadowed, however, by front-page news reports that May Day Collective member Leslie Bacon had been arrested as a material witness, alleged to have personal knowledge of the 1 March bombing of the Capitol. May Day organizers asserted that the timing of the arrest constituted "an attempt by the government to discredit" their planned protest. They also denounced FBI surveillance and phone taps.[30]

Government monitoring of May Day led to drastic action. When more than 50,000 people attended a "people's peace rock concert" on Saturday, 1 May, in West Potomac Park, federal officials became alarmed. Having predicted that only 20,000 would attend the concert and fearful that May Day organizers might recruit many new demonstrators, Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst decided, contrary to the specifics of the permit agreement, to revoke the permit for the encampment without consulting May Day leaders. Eviction of the demonstrators from the park was a preemptive tactical move designed to eliminate the activists' staging ground for Monday's planned disruptions. At 6:30 on Sunday morning, 2 May, Chief Jerry Wilson and 750 police announced revocation of the permit to the 45,000 people still in the park and ordered them to leave by noon or face arrest. Caught off guard and resentful but nonviolent, all but 200 left by noon. The rest submitted peacefully to arrest.[31]

Many concertgoers and potential demonstrators left town, as government officials had hoped, but thousands of others regrouped at nearby universities, churches, and private residences. At a midafternoon press conference, Davis denounced the park eviction as "virtual martial law," while PCPJ spokesperson Sid Peck termed the police action "Vietnamization come home. The city has become Saigon West." May Day organizers reduced the number of targets from twenty-one to twelve as regional and constituency groups met hurriedly to revise their plans in light of the smaller contingent expected. Despite the confusion, the activists' determination was evident. One protester noted that the park eviction served at least one useful purpose: "We got rid of those who came just for the fun of it. The rest of us mean business."[32]

So did the government. Federal and district authorities had coordinated their resources. To contain the planned disruptions, Chief Wilson mobilized his entire police force of 5,100 as well as 500 park police and 1,500 District of Columbia National Guard personnel. An additional 10,000 army and marine troops stood on alert nearby—the largest num-

ber since the April 1968 civil disorders following the King assassination. Over the weekend, Commander-in-Chief Nixon phoned Wilson from San Clemente, commended him and his force, and told him to continue to deal "fairly but firmly with violators of the law."[33]

Each side began preparations early Monday morning, 3 May. At 1:38 A.M., "busloads of riot police" had parked, ready for action. An hour later, a large National Guard convoy arrived in the northwest sector of the city. By 4:30 A.M., Chief Wilson was patrolling the streets in Cruiser One. Bridge traffic grew heavy when 4,500 top-ranking officials and other key personnel reported to work early, as ordered. William D. Ruckelshaus, head of the Environmental Protection Agency, explained: "We were told to be in our offices at a quarter to five this morning so that no one could say that [the demonstrators] had stopped the executive process." Thus, May Day had already had a significant impact; as one employee on his way to the Pentagon observed, "If this isn't disruption, what is?" At police roll call shortly before 5 A.M., Chief Wilson radioed the president's commendation to the force, including Nixon's "desire that this city be open for business this week. Our responsibility is to insure that goal." Meanwhile, armed marine and army units were deployed at key bridges with police tow trucks positioned nearby.[34]

Before dawn more than 15,000 May Day demonstrators met in small groups across the northwest part of the city and on the Virginia side of several bridges. Many removed contact lenses and earrings, wrote lawyers' phone numbers in pen on their wrists, and tucked bail money inside their shoes. Many also put stickers saying "Practice Nonviolence" on their shirts. But when they hit the streets before 6 A.M., they found that the government would not allow them to perform mass, disciplined, nonviolent civil disobedience. As demonstrators sat down in rows or circles at intersections or near bridge entrances, police began spraying mace or lobbing tear gas cannisters to force them to disperse. Flying squads of officers on motor scooters roared through lines of demonstrators blocking streets. Other police began clubbing demonstrators. Instead of using the field arrest forms developed after the 1968 civil disorders to note the individual's name, address, charge, and circumstances of arrest, along with a Polaroid photo of the suspect, many police met nonviolence with violence.[35]

Forced to scatter because of the tear gas and clubs, May Day protesters quickly improvised with "mobile tactics," dashing into the streetto halt cars and then running away when police charged. Some did not escape unscathed, as police continued to club protesters. At 6:19 A.M., an officer told a reporter that "it's the only way you're going to keep

[traffic lanes] open." Occasional arrests were made, and some officers filled out field arrest forms. But at 6:25 A.M., as the number of demonstrators on the streets increased, Chief Wilson ordered normal field arrest procedures suspended. The police radio dispatcher was succinct: "Just load 'em on the bus and lock 'em up." Wilson essentially ordered indiscriminate dragnet arrests and illegal mass preventive detention to "sweep the streets" of demonstrators.[36]

For the next several hours, the streets of the capital in its northwest section resembled, as one commentator observed, "an extended, earnest game of hares and hounds." Protesters blocked traffic with their bodies, trash cans, cement blocks, tree limbs, and debris. Most fled when police approached. Some demonstrators lobbied with motorists to stall their cars; other activists apologized for inconveniencing drivers but told them the war had to end now. Demonstrators pulled small cars from parking spaces into the street, and even overturned a few. A small number of activists pulled distributor caps from vehicles or let air out of tires in an effort to cause a bigger traffic jam. Even fewer slashed tires or scattered nails in the street; only a handful threw rocks or bottles or swung sticks at the police. Press and police agreed that these were atypical incidents and that no looting or window-smashing had occurred.[37]

Many law enforcement personnel, however, did not restrain themselves as well as the demonstrators. Indiana activist Joseph "Jot" Kendall reported that "carloads of federal marshals in Civil Defense cars were jumping out with clubs and beating people. I didn't see them arrest anyone, just beat them. A Washington cop told me they were Maryland county sheriff's deputies, appointed as federal marshals for the occasion." Many police removed their badges to avoid identification as they joined in the fray. Journalists repeatedly witnessed police "swinging their long nightsticks freely at the milling demonstrators, young men and women alike." Tear gas also wafted through the streets as police dispersed groups, grabbed as many individuals as they could, and loaded them in vans or buses. Few had been informed of the charges against them. By 8 A.M., with the normal rush hour traffic increasing, more than 2,000 people were already in custody.[38]

The police dragnet swept up numerous bystanders, including six psychiatric patients and their attendants. Many clearly identifiable medical personnel called in to aid protesters were seized; police impounded two marked ambulances and destroyed medical supplies. Anyone questioning police about their tactics invited detainment. For many, matters quickly worsened; reporters noted that "the sight of District policemen jamming the butts of their sticks into the ribs and backs of

prisoners, often shouting obscenities at the same time, has become commonplace."[39]

By 9:30 A.M., with the streets clear, Wilson claimed victory. Thirty minutes later, Attorney General John Mitchell declared, "The city is open. The traffic is flowing. The government is functioning." However, regular arrest procedures were not reinstituted until 2:10 P.M. Meanwhile, a spot-check of federal agencies revealed normal attendance levels of 90 to 95 percent. Presidential counsel John Dean updated the commander-in-chief every few hours on the "military" situation; Dean had also drafted an emergency declaration for the president should conditions require formal suspension of civil liberties. However, the administration's "military attack" on the protesters had won. The victorious government also had 7,200 "prisoners of war."[40]

While publicly delighted with the morning's results, the attorney general and other federal and district officials privately worried about the legality of their actions. Fearful of false-arrest suits, they summoned May Day attorney Philip J. Hirschkop to a meeting that afternoon. Speaking for the city, the police department's general counsel, Gerald M. Caplan, offered Hirschkop a deal: if May Day leaders cancelled further demonstrations, urged their followers to leave town, and helped provide buses for those leaving, the city would immediately drop all charges against those arrested without the standard field arrest forms and photographs, free those arrested properly on $10 collateral, not search detainees for drugs, and waive felony indictments of May Day leaders. Caplan gave Hirschkop a few hours to talk with May Day and PCPJ leaders and receive a response to the offer.[41]

Meanwhile, at a 3:30 P.M. press conference, Rennie Davis declared, "We want to make clear that we failed this morning to stop the U.S. government. Our biggest problem was not appreciating the extent to which the government would go to put people on the skids." He conceded that "we were taken by surprise at the closing of the [West Potomac] Park." He also noted that on Monday morning "many people arrived too early or forced themselves into situations, rather than letting things take their natural course." Undeterred, he announced a reduced schedule of targets for Tuesday morning's disruptive actions and a march to the Justice Department beginning at noon.[42]

After the press conference, Hirschkop presented the government offer to Davis and several other May Day and PCPJ leaders. They rejected the deal, Davis recalled, as preposterous. If they accepted it, their credibility with militant antiwar people would be destroyed. Moreover, the idea was impractical. Neither Davis nor any of the other leaders could

"order" any of the demonstrators to leave. Despite prodigious intelligence efforts, the administration still did not understand the decentralized, autonomous nature of the May Day Tribe. Several moments later, before the government learned of the rejection, FBI agents arrested Davis on charges of conspiring to violate the civil rights of others and conspiring to interfere with federal workers.[43]

Meanwhile, thousands of demonstrators jammed District jail cells, the jail exercise yard, and the hastily commandeered, fenced-in practice field of the Washington Redskins across from RFK Stadium. The government was determined not to let May Day succeed, but, despite advance warning that thousands of protesters would be in town, it had not arranged adequate detention facilities. Overcrowded and unsanitary conditions, as well as lack of food and water, caused severe problems for the inmates of "Woodstockades." A judge later declared the conditions "cruel and unusual punishment." However, the mutual concern, sharing, and solidarity among those detained received widespread acknowledgement, especially by journalists caught up in the dragnet arrests and "Jailed With the Mayday Tribe," as one reporter titled his memoir.[44]

Undeterred by mass preventive detention, 700 demonstrators were legally arrested on Tuesday morning, 4 May, while trying to block traffic. Approximately 2,000 people were legally arrested that afternoon while practicing traditional civil disobedience at the Justice Department. On Wednesday afternoon, 1,200 people were peacefully arrested at the Capitol for unlawful assembly as four House members addressed them. On Thursday afternoon, Rennie Davis announced the end of May Day demonstrations as a "tactical retreat."[45]

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The May Day actions provoked a storm of controversy. Columnist Mary McGrory summarized the general press reaction: "May Day, living up to all expectations, got the worst reviews of any demonstration in history. It was universally panned as the worst planned, worst executed, most slovenly, strident and obnoxious peace action ever committed." Mainstream pundits and politicians praised the respectable demonstrators of 24 April and bemoaned the "foolish and useless acts" of the alienated and egocentric May Day Tribe, "Leaderless Rabble" who "diverted public attention from the war issue to the issue of their own conduct." Worse still, critics charged that May Day had hurt, not helped, the antiwar effort.[46]

But others disagreed. A week after the protests, a Capitol Hill correspondent noted that "contrary to the fears of many Senate doves,

however, who were quick to issue statements deploring the Mayday tactics, the demonstrations did not appear to have besmirched the anti-war movement in Congress." Public opinion had already shifted decisively against the war; the alleged excesses of May Day would not change that. Black columnist William Raspberry, ambivalent about May Day, noted that much of the criticism sounded embarrassingly familiar to civil rights advocates: "What it says is that I agree with your objectives but I believe your tactics are hurting the cause. I've heard that one too many times, and from too many wrong sources, to feel comfortable repeating it now."[47]

Nevertheless, the administration celebrated its victory. Attorney General Mitchell encouraged police throughout the country to emulate the tactics used in the capital: "I hope Washington's decisive opposition to mob rule will set an example for other communities." Mitchell declared that President Nixon shared this view.[48] In contrast, the American Civil Liberties Union decried the "Vietnamization of America [with] free-arrest zones [similar to] free-fire zones" in Vietnam.[49] When Nixon reiterated his support of the police actions, the ACLU expressed "shock that the President, sworn to uphold the Constitution, believes he can turn it on and off like a traffic light on the corner to keep the cars moving." Senator Edward Kennedy put it succinctly: "Lawlessness by the lawless does not justify lawlessness by the lawmen."[50]

The administration had at least three other options on 3 May. First, police could have permitted the nonviolent civil disobedience originally planned. Legal arrests could have been made, even at the cost of a traffic jam. In fact, that is what the government did on 4 May at the Justice Department, with resultant two-hour delays of traffic. Second, after using mace, gas, and clubs, police probably did not need to make 7,200 arrests on 3 May to keep traffic moving. Had they indeed found so many arrests necessary, they could have utilized military personnel to help with paperwork. Third, if police had been outnumbered, as Chief Wilson apparently believed, more personnel (such as nearby military on alert) could have been brought in to assist in legal arrests.[51]

Instead, the self-proclaimed law-and-order administration chose order, expediency, and punitive action over law. As Charles DeBenedetti concluded, the Nixon administration won the day, "but at a financial and constitutional cost."[52] Some demonstrators belatedly obtained a measure of justice in January 1975, when a Washington federal court awarded 1,200 victims of illegal arrest—those arrested Wednesday, 5 May, at the Capitol—approximately $10,000 each. That $12 million judgment represented the biggest civil rights monetary award in American legal history

up to that date. The case also established a precedent for ordering damage payments paid directly to citizens whose constitutional rights had been violated.[53]

But May Day did more than precipitate legal and political crises within the system. May Day was an experiment in decentralized, autonomous antiwar organizing, focused on mass nonviolent civil disobedience in the nation's capital. More than 15,000 people did organize themselves for such an action. Under extreme provocation, and with few exceptions, they remained nonviolent. And they did perform civil disobedience, forced into mobile tactics on 3 May and allowed more traditional forms on 4 and 5 May. These actions showed discipline and commitment. May Day did not degenerate into gratuitous trashing, street fighting, or Weather-style Days of Rage. Even one of May Day's harshest critics within the antiwar movement, Trotskyist Fred Halstead, conceded that the "Mayday actions did . . . involve significant numbers, especially considering that they were civil disobedience demonstrations . . . and cannot be dismissed as isolated actions of a handful of ultralefts."[54]

May Day did disrupt Washington, but did not shut it down or stop the government. Nonetheless, Mike Lerner argued, "In terms of shaking people from their apathy, and stopping business-as-usual in the Capitol, the May demonstrations were clearly a success." Rennie Davis and others have noted that May Day, while irritating and angering many people, attracted support from a number of federal employees, especially civil service workers, National Guardsmen, and federal troops, as well as a surprising number of police, especially black officers. Support from the black community was also significant. David McReynolds commented that "it was the first time the Blacks had ever seen masses of whites get arrested and it changed a lot of attitudes." Brad Lyttle agreed, noting that "many members of Washington's black population were astonished by the militancy of the protest, and expressed exceptional friendliness toward antiwar activists for some weeks afterwards."[55]

May Day also had its downside. One participant noted that the May action "has been accused, with some justice, of being more like theatre than politics" because its goal was unrealistic. Moreover, "Mayday, like other spectacles on the left, relied heavily on the behavior of our uniformed adversaries and on the images which a predominately hostile media would convey. [Thus] Mayday made a lot of silly claims [about stopping the government] and set itself up for the media blitz which followed." In addition, with the focus on the capital, far fewer disruptive actions in other cities occurred in tandem with 3 May than originally envisioned. Structurally, May Day's decentralization sometimes led to

disorganization and confusion. Most of its regional organizations and many of its local collectives did not survive long after May Day, although there were important exceptions. A network of protesters continued to organize new actions, although none came close to the scale of 3 May.[56]

But May Day also needed to be evaluated within the larger context of the antiwar movement and the debate on tactics. Paraphrasing John Reed, Dave Dellinger melodramatically declared that "from 24 April to Mayday (May 3) 1971, the antiwar movement produced ten days that shook Washington and were heard around the world."[57] Between 24 April and 3 May, the People's Lobby agitated. With the five-day "incursion" of the VVAW (19–23 April) and the two traditional civil disobedience actions following 3 May, added, the antiwar movement's Spring Offensive captivated the capital and the country for almost three weeks.

This sustained activity also revealed the sterility of the debate over tactics within the movement. May Day organizer Mike Lerner thought the 24 April march was "passive and meaningless." Many NPAC supporters claimed May Day would be a small "ultraleft" confrontation that would hurt the antiwar movement. Both views proved to be mistaken. Had either the 24 April mass legal march or the 3 May mass civil disobedience action occurred in isolation from other activities, the impact of each would have been lessened. Instead, in the context of the Spring Offensive, as independent radical James Weinstein observed, "the two were complementary means of applying pressure to end the war."[58]

Noam Chomsky also understood this interrelationship: "The [24 April] march provided evidence of majority opposition to the war; the Mayday action provided an implied threat that if the liberals in Congress do not act to end the war, future large-scale demonstrations may follow the path of Mayday, rather than 24 April." Chomsky noted that the first antiwar march in 1965 had attracted only fifteen to twenty thousand people, but that seven years later, hundreds of thousands attended the 24 April march "while more than 15,000 tried to disrupt the normal functioning of the government in protest against the continuing war." Chomsky wondered, "But is it impossible to imagine that in 197? hundreds of thousands will march on Washington prepared for some form of civil disobedience if the war still continues or is followed by some new horror?"[59]

The spring 1971 demonstrations, however, represented the last major sustained activities of the antiwar movement. Government repression of May Day intimidated or demoralized some protesters, while burnout and exhaustion took their toll on others. NPAC and PCPJ still quarreled; several May Day veterans planned a civil disobedience action

for fall 1971, but it attracted only a few participants. Meanwhile, Vietnamization policies lowered U.S. casualties and draft calls, and the McGovern campaign siphoned off much activism into electoral politics. Protestors responded to the spring 1972 bombing and mining of North Vietnam, but antiwar militancy generally declined as peace seemed to be imminent. President Nixon won reelection in a landslide, increasing the antiwar movement's sense of isolation. Although the 1972 Christmas bombing of North Vietnam sparked outrage and renewed demonstrations, nothing on the scale of spring 1971 occurred. By January 1973, the peace treaty was signed and U.S. forces completed their withdrawal, although the war dragged on for more than two years.[60] May Day 1971 proved to be the peak of antiwar activity.

May Day drew inspiration from the civil rights movement. In following the later tactics of Martin Luther King, Jr., who eventually endorsed more disruptive and confrontational forms of civil disobedience, May Day played the role within the antiwar movement that Malcolm X had played within the civil rights movement. In both cases, the radical alternative and the specter of social chaos made liberals and their policies seem more moderate and acceptable to mainstream America. And the impact of May Day, like that of Malcolm X, remains controversial.

6,000 arrests set record

Mayday strategy folds in capital

By Trudy Rubin, Robert P. Hey, and Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondents of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Mayday—the most ambitious demonstration undertaken yet in the capital with an avowed aim of "shutting down the government"—has shot its main bolt, and the government continues to function.

At this writing more than 6,000 people have been arrested, the largest number arrested in a single day in Washington's history, according to police officials.

The demonstration plans were criticized for weeks by many in the antiwar movement as being too ambitious and unrealistic. In the short run, Mayday certainly cannot be accounted a success:

- While the city's traffic was disabled noticeably for about 2 to 3 hours, most workers still made it into the office on Monday. And many were visibly annoyed or frightened at having to confront demonstrators or walk through tear gas, even though some expressed sympathy for their antiwar aims.

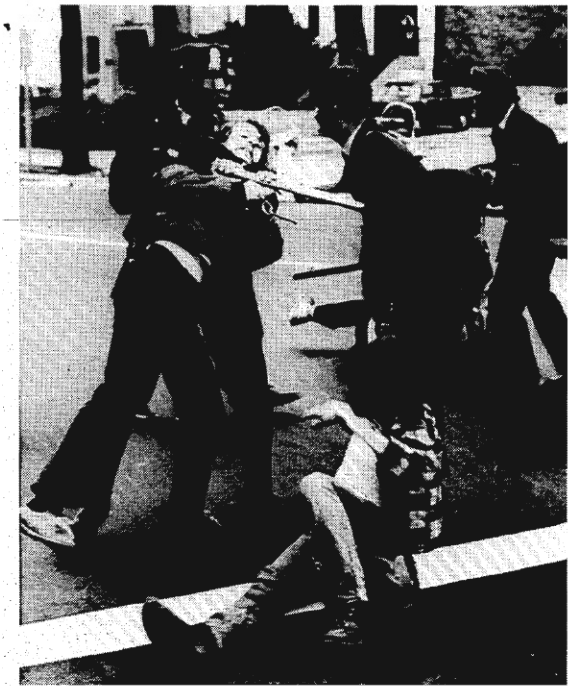
- Liberals and dove legislators did not flock to back Mayday, although Mayday never aimed at winning their support.

Sens. George McGovern and J. W. Fulbright disavowed civil disobedience as a protest tactic last week. (The President, still at San Clemente on May 3, publicly warned demonstrators not to partake in illegal activities.)

- Mayday, which put a premium on decentralized structure, in the end was so decentralized that its strategy folded. In addition, it underestimated the tactics of the Washington, D.C., police, who managed — without a confrontation — to clear out the Mayday encampment where several thousand demonstrators were gathered early Sunday morning, thus making it more difficult for the demonstrators to assemble on Monday.

But in the long run there is significance in the fact that this disorganized group could interfere with government workings. And the tactics used — labeled non-violent disruption by some, creative civil disobedience by others — are likely to be seen frequently from now on at militant antiwar demonstrations. And demonstrators say they will be better organized next time.

The Mayday demonstration was aimed at preventing government employees from reaching work by blocking bridges and intersections at morning rush hours.



AP Photo

'Creative disobedience'—and mass arrests

While Mayday organizers expressed hope that employees could be given leaflets and made to understand these activities, many demonstrators argued that government workers had no right to be "good Germans," participants in government activities which the demonstrators feel lend support to the war effort.

Comic Trek Ends Mayday Activities

By William L. Claiborne
Washington Post Staff Writer

The turmoil of civil disobedience that had beset Washington for three days ended innocuously yesterday with an aimless, circuitous march by a small band of demonstrators that nearly got lost on a horse trail in Rock Creek Park.

Two hours later, protest leaders declared a suspension of the current demonstrations here, calling the decision "a tactical retreat."

Chicago Seven defendant Rennie Davis, a Mayday leader, said there would be new mass civil disobedience action in Washington six to eight weeks from now and declared: "They are going to have to jail every young person in America before we are stopped."

Meanwhile, yesterday's small rear guard of the Mayday spring offensive, observed from above by an Army helicopter and followed from behind by an entourage of policemen and newsmen, wandered without direction for two hours without reaching its objective of the Federal Triangle.

At times, the newsmen outnumbered the protesters.

At one point, the footsore contingent was led by an 18-year-old Columbus, Ohio, youth who said he had thought the demonstrations were over until he heard a radio newscast.

He said he hastily hitchhiked downtown and soon afterward found himself in charge.

"I don't know where we are," said Mark Satchwell, poring over an Esso road map on California Street several blocks east of Massachusetts Avenue.

The group's objective was the South Vietnamese Embassy, well to the south and precisely where the march had begun.

Striding vigorously alongside Satchwell was an 8-year-old boy, who, when asked where he was going, responded, "to a demonstration." Asked where, he said, "I don't know."

The assembly point for the march, which was announded Wednesday night by Mayday Tribe cooordinators, was Sheridan Circle.

The protestors began drifting into the circle about 11 a.m., many of them apparently unaware of the existence of the South Vietnamese Embassy across the street. At one point, there were 200 in the circle, but many wandered off in small groups toward the Kalorama Triangle area, where many other embassies are located.

Even after the main contingent stepped off north on Massachusetts Avenue and away from the embassy, several protestors said, "We're going to the Saigon embassy."

At its largest, the parade northward numbered 75 persons, many of them high school age or younger. None of the Mayday Collective leaders was present.

Cordons of police kept the parade well away from embassies, and cruising squad cars frequently reminded the group that if it stopped, demonstrators would be arrested for unlawful assembly. (Demonstrations within 500 feet of embassies are prohibited.)

Several times, the marchers made complete circles of residential blocks east of Massachusettes Avenue, and several times they abruptly turned around and headed in the direction from which they had come.

"Let's not change directions again," pleaded a young girl when the parade made one about-face.

"We're going to Connecticut Avenue and to the D.C. Jail," Satchwell told a reporter at one point. Then, unfolding his road map, he asked, "Can you get to the jail on Connecticut Avenue?"

A few minutes later, Satchwell dropped out of the parade, and the remaining 30 demonstrators were called together on California Street by a youth who identified himself only as Abalone ("no first name") of the Mayday Collective.

"We've really got a long day ahead of us, and this just won't do. . .you're going around in circles and you don't know where you're going," Abalone said.

As most of the following newsmen began to drop out of the march, the parade again headed north on Massachusetts Avenue, toward Rock Creek Park. A few more peeled off at the Islamic Mosque at Belmont Street and went inside, apparently for a tour.

The 20 remaining marchers—followed at that point by one reporter and one cruising police car—crossed the bridge over the park, turned west and entered a horse trail, where an impromptu meeting was held.

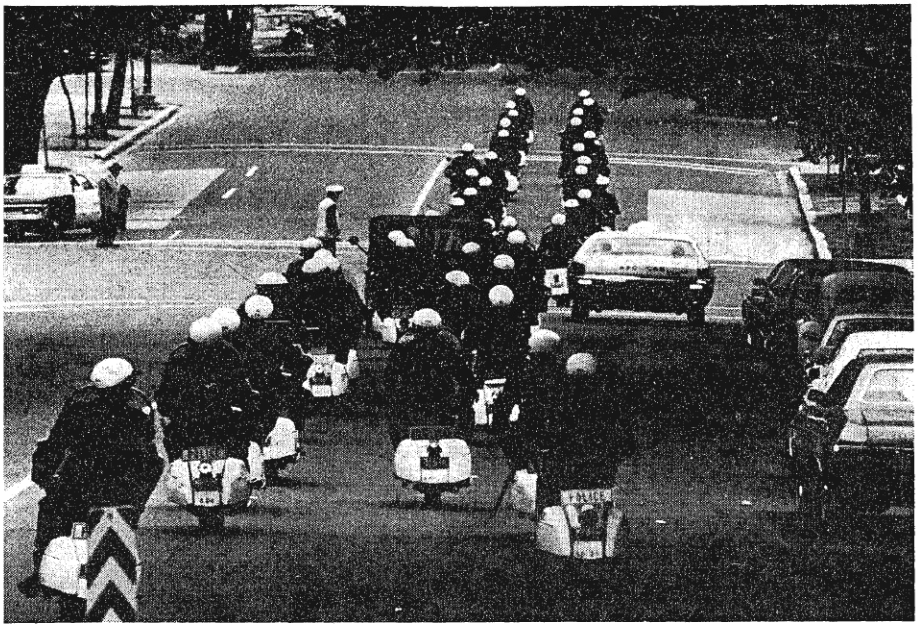
"Well, we're not getting anywhere this way," said Abalone. "If we stop, we're going to get busted, so let's go through the park and head downtown."

The objective, Abalone explained, was to reach federal buildings downtown and distribute copies of the "people's peace treaty."

The group headed off again on the horse trail, its members occasionally looking at maps, as a squad of 10 foot policemen followed behind.

"Sgt. Mahoney to Wise Owl," the police squad leader barked into a walkie-talkie. "Our people are headed west on the horse trail and they're apparently headed down to the Mall."

About 100 feet farther,



By Matthew Lewis—The Washington Post

A platoon of motor scooter metropolitan policemen cruises on Massachusetts Avenue in direction of Dupont Circle.

Comedy of Error Ends Final March

MARCH, From A1

several members of the pursuit squad spoke privately with the sergeant, and then nine metropolitan police officers walked to the edge of the trail and relieved themselves.

As the sergeant finally abandoned the pursuit and turned his men around to return to their cars on Massachusetts Avenue, a few of the tiny band of protesters sat down to rest.

The others slowly began to split up into small clusters, heading westward in the general direction of Wisconsin Avenue.

The official suspension of the current demonstrations was announced by William Douthard, formerly of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and now a coordinator of the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice.

Davis then spoke for about 10 minutes. When Douthard asked for other speakers, he was shouted down by reporters, who wanted to question Davis.

Some demonstration leaders have claimed that press coverage has focused on Davis to the exclusion of other protesters.

Davis said a national conference would be held in about two weeks to plan a "second national campaign" in Washington, probably in six to eight weeks.

"This is only a warmup of what is to come. Our actions will be aimed at literally creating an intolerable situation for the U.S. government as long as it maintains its war policy in Indochina," Davis declared.

MAYDAY: A STALE STORY

Washington, D.C.
May 11, 1971

The predictable parade of stuffed shirts and stuffed skirts moves obliviously down Connecticut Avenue. Construction workers view with taxi drivers to obstruct the street. Smoke is provided by auto exhausts, melody by office Musak floating out of impassive monoliths. People appear fat, hurried, unconcerned, neat, repulsive.

Business as usual has returned to the capital city of the most powerful nation on earth with a hearty welcome. Business is so usual that it appears to be trying to compensate for the few days last week when, for once in a dead decade, it did not go on quite so much as usual.

The soothing ripples of aftermath news waft gently toward the sunny shore. Mitchell hails the DC police for their efficiency in hauling away hippies. A few more liberal congressmen denounce the events of mayday as counter-productive to the peace movement. The papers carry ever decreasing features on the unjustly arrested.

The tribe has tripped out to more receptive lands. A few linger in the city like lost refugees. Their revolutionary brothers and sisters have gone home, where bitterness and pain melt timelessly into snapshot remiscences ("Show Mildred the slide of Johnny getting arrested.")

It was unseemly for everybody. The chagrined motorists had to put up with longer rush hours, long-hairs in the streets, and federal troops shooting gas all over the place -- for a day or two. Comfort came from the endless retelling of eyewitness experiences, an added spice in the morning coffee. The secretary became political analyst for day.

Kids had to bother with getting together in groups and planning strategies for confrontation. Obviously such mundane undertakings were only for the organization types. The rest were content to mill and chant as they pleased, shout down news reporters, and prance in revolutionary gear.

Even the cops knew it was a lark. But they spoiled the show by turning serious about it. Rennie Davis was appalled by the very effective tactic of arresting everyone in sight. "It's not fair to take us that seriously," you can almost hear him rave.

The trouble with mayday was that everyone did take it seriously except the tribe. Sure, they put on a good show for the media, but intimidation by rhetoric is no longer a match for the man. Revolution requires action that had a chance of being effective, not just confrontation for the sake of a show.

Even if the tribe's goals could be called valid (and what good would it really have been if they had stopped government workers from reaching their jobs for one day?), their tactics betrayed their lack of a real purpose. What guerilla struggle succeeds by giving the opposition extensive advance information about plans? The map of targets was published on the front page of the Star the weekend before the planned disruptions. Could the tribe expect anything other than hordes of troops waiting to meet them on Monday morning? If the mayday organizers were really serious about shutting down the city, they might have done it: by deviating from set plans, by creative disruption, by unexpected tactics. Instead, the morning of May 3 followed a script everyone knew. Nothing happened that the government was not more than adequately prepared for.

Perhaps the mayday organizers thought their intentions, looking so firm and formidable on paper, would scare the opposition into submission. A slight miscalculation: it did send paranoia pulsing through the sensitive national security jugulars, leading to a determination to protect its own interests no matter what the costs. Importing 10,000 troops into a city is a serious measure. Those who are threatened, especially the powerful, defend themselves.

Forced to translate heady words into dangerous action, the paper revolutionaries once again came up soft and whimpering about their violated rights. By this point in time, what can you expect? The value of showing for the umpteenth time that police can be proved brutal is limited. Everyone that cares knows the score by now.

collage p
from L.

I tried to write all of this before I forgot it. If there is any thing that I have left out it is because of that. I hope this account isn't from an entirely male point of view. Many more women took a very active part in May Day and Gay May Day. There was a strong, active Women's Liberation region and a separate Lesbian region - therefore few Gay Women stayed with the Gay May Day Tribe.

as seen and fel by Perry Br

When I first got on the bus in Philadelphia to go to Washington (I was on a bus in Philadelphia because of a speaking thing at Swarthmore College - 15 minutes from Philadelphia - the afternoon before) I realized that I might be the only Gay person on that bus for the first time in a long time & felt as isolated as most of my sisters and brothers feel all of the time. But almost two years in Gay Liberation had protected me from this kind of isolation and I had been somewhat protected from the "straight movement". I really wasn't used to straight movement men. I wasn't used to all the straight games they play - like not looking at you unless you happen to be a woman they want to fuck . . . .

like carrying on conversations with you in which you could be replaced by a box of cornflakes (so deep is their personal involvement with other people who happen to be of the same sex), like trying so hard not to register any show of surprise when I told some of them I was going to Washington not to be a part of the Philadelphia Region nor of the New York Region nor even of the New York University Region but of the ...what?... that's right... Gay May Day Tribe! That's right, folks. They were very good at not showing anything, but they didn't talk to me very much after that anyway. Which gave me some time to think about all of my Gay brothers and sisters who had made that long ride to Washington so may times during the last five years or so. About how they had been forced to remain silent for so long. How they had been made to feel so tolerated, accepted and loved by their wonderful liberal straight brothers and sisters.

So by the time I arrived in Washington, I had made a promise to myself that when there would ever be a choice again between relating to straight people or to my Gay sisters and brothers, there would be no choice again. Washington was brilliantly warm Saturday afternoon when I arrived. There were already about 50,000 'culture freaks' spread out over the meadow of West Potomac Park listening to the beginning of the allday-allnight rock concert that was supposed to kick off this part of the revolution. I had to wade through this sea of beautiful, massive, long haired bodies, hoping to find somewhere my brothers and sisters from the GayMayDay Tribe. The closer I came to the people around me, though, the more uptight I became. Underneath all that hair (and upclose, all that hair started to get kind of short, afterall) I saw the same faces I had gone to the University of Georgia with five years ago. I became almost panicky. Where was the Revolution? All I could see was this mob and smell hot dogs from all these hot dog carts and smell beer. Then some one with an arm band designating something asked me if I was lost. I said I was, and he told me where the Tribe was.

It was much further back towards where a camping ground of tents had been set up. It took me a while to find it in all of the tent areas from each region plus tents from Women's Liberation and Welfare Rights and different

GMAMDay

other special collective tents. I recognized it by a few Gay Liberation flags that were really not large enough to be seen above the lines of tents. I wondered how some of our more closeted sisters and brothers could ever find it in that melee of Southern jocks at the concert. I recognized some of the brothers from Washington, Philadelphia, and New York. At first it was just a rush fo old faces, new faces, embraces, handshakes and much happiness to be back among people of warmth and feeling. Some of the people back at the 'camp' as we called it had been there all week. They were comfortable these among themselves, dressing in the collection half or full drag or nudity that was most comfortable for them. After a few hours, I ceased to be quite so freaked out by the whole things. I had met brothers from Texas, Alaska, Mississippi, places and people that freaked me by the contrast of people and consciousnesses. But leaving the camp was an excercise in guerilla theatre, walking over to the rock concert holding hands brought us back to stares of disbelief and whispers.

The high point of the afternoon was then the women demanded that men there confront their sexism, stop the pigpen sexist songs that had been going on for hours, stop harassing every woman trying to get around the camp not wearing armour. One of the women announced that two sisters had already been gang raped. Most of the assorted jocks and bikers took that as the expected norm. They tried to hoot down the women. Some of them showing off all those secret weapons they carry in their pants. The women went on. On chorus they shouted, "We are Lesbians1 We are Lesbians1" A gay sister gave a powerful rap about the reality of gay women's oppression that went over the heads of most of the people there, but the microphone platform had already been surrounded by gay sisters and brothers and other people with some consciousness who right-onned enough to drown out all the usual sexist shit that was coming out of the beach blanket binge set who surrounded the area where the Beach Boys (?) had just sang the puberty praises fo California Girls. The last woman to speak asked that the real people there recognize the solidarity of the Revolution with the struggle of Women and Gay People that every one struggle together: "sisters and sisters, brothers and brothers, sisters and brothers, brothers and sisters, sisters and sisters and brothers and sisters and brothers and brothers1"

It was almost impossible to sleep that evening. The alnight rock concert had become more a nuisance than a device. Many people were on bad trips. There were frequent announcements about bad acid, bad methodrone; one of my brothers asked if this wasn't going to turn into another Altamount: a totally bad trip.

The camp woke up before dawn. Word got around that the permit for the park had been revoked. By 6 o'clock an alternative plan for the Tribe had been devised. This was where my feelings about the whole situation really changed. I couldn't believe how well the whole thing had been planned. An alternative camp for each region had been planned days ago in the expectation that the permit would be revoked. A truck had been rented by the GayMayDay Tribe to take all the heavy equipemtn over. We were to move in small groups over to Georgetown University. The only question was when to move. A black brother with experience at the Poor People's Campaign that had had the same number pulled on them two years ago, comvinced us that we had better haul ass immediately even though the trainers on the PA systems told us that we had at least six hours before an official warning period and not to panic. We did not panic, but there was a complete effort to leave in which our togetherness was really incredible. When I got back I couldn't find my bag. I ran back to the truck to find it there. Some one else had picked up my bag while I was putting other people's bags on the truck. This sort of concern was constantly repeated during the weekend.

At Georgetown, the time of getting together really began. The day had changed. the culture freaks were out. The jocks were gone. Our presence as Gay women and men was being felt by the other regions also at GTU who might have amounted to about three thousand. Our presence at GTU was only allowed because the administration wasn't too sure we (all the MayDay Regions) were there. The President of the school was somewhere out of town and a bureaucracy ahd been set up to make slow decisions in his absence. The majority of students that were visible to us seemed either neutral or a little hostile that their dorms and campus had been invaded by three thousand freaks including 150 homosexuals who were very upfront about it. GTU has a reputation for being a conservative Jesuit university. We streamed through the parking lots singing "When the Gays go marching in", and seemed to find each other through the endless changes of meeting places caused by the rain and presence of campus pigs (one of whom went around with a camera and when asked who he was merely said that he 'worked for the University').

Another alternative to GTU had to be found. After weighing several places, brothers who knew Washington cleared it for us to go to Amazing Grace Church only a few blocks away and very close to our target for Monday. Signs were made for Gay brothers and sisters to go there for a general tactics meeting. On the way out of the University, I overheard two brothers asking some one where the Gay region was meeting. I went over to them and told them where we were going. They told me that they wanted to join us. I was very happy, hoping that they were just coming out because of the strength that our being there had given them. Then they told me that they were straight but that they had heard that the Gay Tribe was the "move together group here." They asked if we would mind having them; I said that I could not speak for everybody but I "wouldn't..."

"You mean you wouldn't mind?"

"No, " I said. "I wouldn't want it. I think we have enough to work on without worrying about offending straight men."

"But nothing you could do would offend us. We've lived with Gay people before."

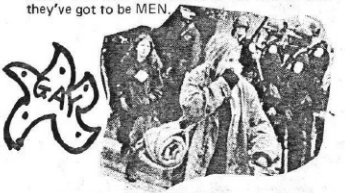
"So have I."

"We didn't mean it that way."

"Why don't you go back to your brothers and talk with them and try to work on their sexism."

"We can't ," he said. "They won't even give us a chance to speak. Every time some one says something everybody else accuses him of being on an ego trip or of being a pig. Or else, everybody tries to be a leader at once."

They seemed very surprised that we might reject them. I wondered why it was so impossible for them to drop some of those straight male privileges and just say that they, too, were gay. That they too are as oppressed as we are. If all Women in Women's Liberation are Lesbians why can't all men drop their clubs and become homosexuals (drop their faggots, the sticks that used to burn us at the stake). But they've got to be MEN.



The meeting at the Church was really beautiful. There was no jockying for leadership because most of us didn't know what we were doing and were looking for anyone to lead us. We listened to a sister tell us about the Women's march that had been come down upon by pigs on cycles that could scoot between marchers,

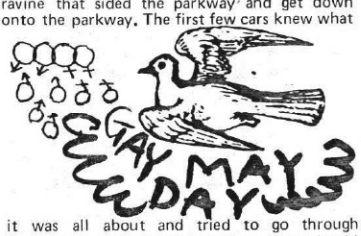
run up sidewalks, up hills, over grass. We talked about tactics of police harrassment as opposed to "straight classic civil disobedience". Since most homosexuals have lived whole lives of "civil disobedience", have illegalized lives, have been harrassed by the pigs always and have known jails like like straight middle-class radicals will never know (in jail all freaks are faggots but faggots are really *faggots* and the pigs know it, mary! The same way that they know black people, not to even mention our own black sisters and brothers.). So there was no great enthusiasm to do "classic civil disobedience" which very much upset some of our poeple but did not split us apart.

We wondered how we could confront the fear in us. For some people fear had to be looked and dealt with. They could not just go out there the next morning and get their eads clobbered and wonder what happened. They had to prepare themselves for it. Other people just freaked at the thought of fear and wanted to go out the next morning and face it as it came. Even after hearing the sister speak about the Women's march, even after seeing bandages prepared, and seeing medical people (who also shared the charch) getting their things together, I still could not be afraid. I just couldn't comprehend what was happening. All I felt was really queazy anxiety and looking at my sisters and brothers and feeling how could anyone want to hurt them, they were so beautiful? But I had really just removed muself from the situation which even on a physical level I couldn't take. I asked one of my brothers who had been in Viet Nam what it was like "waiting" and he said it was the way we felt that night. There was a great necessity not to become hysterical even though there were four pigs to a block in Georgetown, there were bus loads of pigs on corners, Civil Defense Units were riding through every so often and things were looking quite "heavy".

That night in the sanctuary of Amazing Grace, which had been staked out for us to sleep in, I stayed up for a while and listened to people talking about the Gay Movement as it has appeared all over the country. It was very astounding for me to realize that what become very much of my life was now a part of may people's lives. Gay Liberation was indeed something that to many people in cities other than New York and Los Angeles and San Francisco- cities that have long offered some sort of nominal protection to Gay people who could pay for it,- but in cities like Chicage and Albany and Buffalo and in small towns in Kansas and Texas, was a real part of people's lives. Josè from the Washington commume occasionally interrupted by giving us briefings on the situation outside. He had been our liason with the MayDay Collective. It had been decided at a Collective Meeting to start making rip-off calls to every underground media possible to let people outside of the city know that Washington was now an occupied city.

We Were awakened the next morning at 4:30. It was really difficult getting up at that hour to face a bunch of pigs. Really up before breakfast as they say in the South. We had a last minute conference, and tried to calm ourselves about rumors- some of which were that the pigs had surrounded the church and would get us as we left the door; that Georgetown University had been invaded by pigs who had mass arrested everyone before they had had any chance to get out to their targets; that armies of pigs would be waiting at each target. But we had no way of knowing if these were the situations. Before leaving, everyone in the church, Gays and Medical Committee for Human Rights people, church men, everyone there linked arms and hands to pray for a peaceful day of civil disobedience. Feeling this great circle, feeling vabrations of OOOOOmmmmm, and hearing 'give peace a chance' (knowing that there was very little chance and that my sisters and brothers were putting their selves on the line in a society that still does not recognize their existence)? I thought I was going to break out and cry. We left the church in affinity groups of four and five.

We were supposed to sneak up to Rock Creek Parkway and wait in the brush near there for our other sisters and brothers. We found some bushes near the bridge over the part that we were to hold. A few minutes later more people joined us, we got out of the brush and found several cars of cruising pigs waiting. We could not be seen in a large group so we had to mill some until the pigs left and we could gather some strength down by the target. The pigs were already starting to jump down on any group of more than two that stayed put for more than a second. They were using the cycles that they had used the day before at the Womens' march and gas was already out there at a little after sex. Somehow though they left our target and we were able to scramble down the ravine that sided the parkway and get down onto the parkway. The first few cars knew what



it was all about and tried to go through demonstrators. But within a few minutes (and I mean very few) *we were able to stop up some traffic. I think we were able to hold the Parkway for about seven to ten minutes before* the police helicopter above sent a few magical words to the minions of justice underneath who came up like fat mushrooms. We immediately pulled our way up the ravine again with the pigs scrambling behind us. Luckily for many people that day who had to use their feet a lot, the Washington pigs are very overfed and not used to using their feet for other purposes than kicking ass when they can (ehich they did a lot of that day).

We wanted to return to the Parkway when the pigs cleared, but it soom became apparent that they weren't gonna leave for quite a while. In the meantime they were having the times of their lives chasing freaks down the sidestreets of Georgetown, macing as they went along. Most of the stuff that happened in Georgetown is pretty known. There was much trashing and very ineffective littering, that only incited the cops to want to really kick ass when they caught some one, which irritated the shit out of Georgetown. My affinity brothers became tired of this and we decided to go to Dupont Circle where we expected to find several hundred people. Along the way, people were turning

GAY MAY DAY

parked small cars into the streets to stop traffic. At Dupont Circle we found several hundred (maybe a thousand) pigs and National Guardsmen. There was a ring of gas around the Circle and anyone walking near the Circle, looking less straight than Shirley Temple, was arrested. Arrests were already starting to pile up. We way several buses filled with demonstrators and there were Hertz Renta Vans parked along the Circleto fill in when the buses became filled. Let Hertz put you pokey today!

The main boulevards of Washington were filled with gas. The attitude of most people on the streetwas quietly hostile but not always: sometimes more genteel Washingtonians would point out freaks to the pigs to assist in the course of justice. We tried to talk with people on the street to see what they had to say about the day, if they realized that every minute of disruption that they had to suffer would kill seven people in Viet Nam would cost one million dollars would take them one minute away from the center of the war machines of Washington. One young man who had just "plugged into the hip scene" as he told us, fresh from doing and he told us that he admired us for coming so far to sleep out in West Potomac Park. He also told us the name of a restaurant in Georgetown where we could eat "cheap", less than ten dollars for him and his "chick". He didn't ask us what region we were from, although we were holding hands while talking to him There was word spreading of a meeting in St. Steven's Church. We went to the meeting which was chaired by a white male whom no one recognized. The big issue of the meeting was whether or not to get arrested sooner or later or not at all. The vote to enlist in civil disobedience and be arrested was very tiny, maybe fifteen people out of a full church meeting room. At this meeting no woman spoke for any other women (one woman said something about continuing demos for that day, but was very ignored); we said nothing. The whole meeting seemed like a group of serious straight male revolutionaries looking for a revolution to control.

We walked out of the church holding hands, feeling very close to each other. People did not stare at us anymore, past hundreds of pigs, past a whole militia with bayonettes on their rifles in Georgetown. "You mean you're all here to protect us?" I quipped as we walked past them. I didn't smile for long though. We saw a brother dragged off by five pigs when his feet happened to land on the street on the moment. Jaywalking. We were almost arrested for standing on a streetcorner between two 'no walk' lights that were on at the same time. I was still only with two of my affinity brothers. The other two of our group had separated. We hoped they were back at the church. Pigs warned the three of us that if we did not keep walking, we would be arrested.

Back at the church, we could not find Jim, but Bill was there. We hoped nothing had happened to Jim. Very few Gay people were arrested and plans were announced for the zap of the American Psychiatric Association that was meeting that night in the Sheraton Hotel. It was announced that we would have to leave the church. Again alternative living arrangements were arranged, this time at National Student Association. We were not allowed to stay there though once we had arrived and so we went over to the Gay commune to decide tactics for the zap and the next day.

The zap was utterly incredible. It had been set up weeks ago by GAA and GLF Washington. GAA already had planted several members in the audience of the awards dinner that was to culminate the convention. Six members of GAA were given copies of the same speech, so that whoever was able to get to the mile after the disruption would not be at a loss for words at that time. About thirty people from the GayMayDay Tribe including several members of the Washington commune piled into a VW van and a few cars and headed for the Sheridan. Half of the men were in really fabulous drag, with wildly painted faces that accentuated the spontaneous, liberating attitude of brothers in drag who are not merely putting down women but are affirming the pleasures of this part of Gay culture. The hotel was lousey with pigs? we got out of the van and the cars and began walking slowly in pairs while pigs in cars and vans cruised back and forth in front of the hotel. I was really frightened, more so than earlier that day. The queens were so good at eluding thepolice that sometimes I did not know where they were. In fact I did not see them duck into the garage entrance that lead to the Regency Room where the shrinks were congratulating themselves upon the lies that they were able to bring forth about Gay epople, women,and any one else they cannot 'socialize' in their new roles as priests of the plastic culture. I saw one of the brothers from GAA who had been infiltrating in tie-and-coat earlier. I asked him what had happened. He told me that the shrinks had completely freaked and that a general riot was happening in the Regency Room. I saw the garage entrance and ran down the embankment to it before any new uzz could be spotted.

The noise coming from the Regency Room was like out of the Inferno. I tried to open the door, but a shrink was pulling it tight. I managed to get it open for a minute. "Get out of here. We don't want any more of you people in here!" he was shouting. I heard voices from inside the room shouting, Faggots! Drag queens!" I ran back up the embankment to the street and joined the GAA brother and another brother who had not been able to get into the room. A pig car began to follow us and we split up and began to walk very cooly and slowly. Then I saw all of our people start streaming out of the garage entrance virtually followed by this posse of cursing shrinks. A pig car picked up on them immediately, but by some miracle they were able to get into cars before the pigs were able to get them. It was all just too incredible; I was praying none of our people were busted. Then I saw two sisters who had been trying to get in but had come too late. We walked back to their car about two blocks away while a pig cruiser followed us. A few geet away away from the car, two pigs got out and began to follow us on foot, but stopped when they saw that we had a car.

When we arrived back at the commune, the queens had already broken out into a Fred Waring arrangement of "When the Gays Go Marching In". The feelings at that time were so high that I could hardly control myself. I just wanted to kiss and hug everyone. We had done this incredible thing- we had got into that hotel, many of us in full, flaming drag, ringed with pigs; even the Palestinial guerrillas could not have done better. Suddenly I realized my friend Tom was not there. I became afraid that he might have been the only one arrested. I knew the shrinks would have been out for blood. But he showed up a few minutes later, and it was complete that none of us had been busted and that the zap bad been very effective because Frank Kameny from Washington Mattachine had been allowed to speak and he had spoken and said the most revolutionary things anyone had ever heard him say. Our feelings were so together and so high. I wondered how I could ever leave this group of people the next day and go back to the strangers that we know, after after knowing strangers for such a short time and loving them. Tom was supposed to take the bus back with Rick and me. We did not find him near the Lincoln Monument where we supposed to meet the buses that NYU had chartered for four days. How NYU had ever chartered buses to take radicals to Washington, most of whom did not even go to NYU, after they had called TPF pigs to Gay people in the basement of Weinstein Hall- well that's still a mystery. I was emotionally very exhausted. A group of women sitting in front of us talked Womens' Liberation and the sexism in the movement and in Washington. We felt free to touch each other, to be Gay now, without feeling like constant guerrilla theatre actors, something I had not felt in straight society in a long time, if ever.

The next day I found out that Tom had been arrested. He had not heard about Jim and we still had his blanket. Tom called me as soon as he got back to New York. He asked me if I heard from Jim, because he'd been missed and we felt less complete without him.

MAY DAY IN WASHINGTON

Last weekend in Washington is very hard to write about. It's too early still to see what the final results of 5 days of tear gas and music will be--what affect they'll have on the war, the government, on us, our parents... Those who were down there will never forget it, I'm sure. And 10,000 or so brothers and sisters who found themselves arrested and locked up in makeshift prisoner of war camps overnight will have a lot to look back on for sure.

* * *

Driving into West Patomac Park Saturday morning at 6:30 after the 10 hour trip from Ann Arbor, picking up hitchhikers who turned us on along the way, we came upon Peace City. There were tens of thousands of people gathering in the morning sunrise and acres and acres of tents and people stretched out in sleeping bags bundled in groups to keep warm. Also a monumental traffic jam. Army and police helicopters buzzed overhead while people made love on the grass. There was lots of good free dope and organic foods. Freeks were serving oatmeal with raisins and rice out of garbage pails, passing out crunchy granola for breakfast, and every once in a while you'd see someone from the food tent walk around handing out still-warm loaves of home made bread.

It was incredible. Old friends would meet each other, run into each other's arms and scream and yodel. The sound system, which was excellent, kept on going with "Judy meet John at the Information tent" and "The green acid has strychnine in it, be careful". Frisbees flew, people sat in circles and toked down, Vietcong flags flew from the tops of tents, some of which were made from American flags, and in general everyone had a great time, waiting for the music to start.

The first group to hit the stage wer, dig it, the Beach Boys. So it was "Wouldn't it be Nice" and California Girls" and "Sloop John B." drifting out over the huge crowd gathered with the Washington monument in the background. The guys running the helicopters keeping a spy-out were probably rocking too, having most likely grown up on this music just like the rest of us. The Beach Boys are freeks now, with really long hair and bushy beards, singing at anti-war rallies for free. That's just another indication of how widespread the change in this generation has reached - the Beach Boys were super straights who sang about surfing and picking up girls and that whole scene.

Mitch Ryder and his group were next. "This is Detroit music, people." Real rock and roll. The crowd started moving together, workin out, and the vibes were great. That is until about 30 women tried to get on the stage, pushing through stage personnel and shoving and screaming that Mitch was playing "cock-rock" and "male chauvinist music." They said they wanted the microphone, and were quickly told that they could speak after Mitch's set was through. They never even asked anyone whether it would be OK for them to speak before they tried to force their way on stage.

What a drag. We really must get together, brothers and sisters, together, and work out our problems. Let's sit down together and figure out what is sexist in our culture, because we're finding out more and more every day that the culture we come from still influences us in ways we aren't aware of yet. But we can't work things out and benefit from everyone's experience by attacking each other.

Mitch ended with "It's Just a Shot Away", the whole crowd swaying to the sound of this song, a call to action for a generation. Mitch expressed the mood of the crowd when he said that "if we wanted to intimidate people, we would have brought guns. We don't want to intimidate anyone; we just want to let out culture exist." And, we might add, grow!

Next came Charles Mingus's band, who didn't seem to be very into what they were doing and got little response. Afterwards a large group of women and gay people got up on stage, and there were some truly right on raps about sexism, the unequal and unnatural separations that men and women are born into in this anti-human land. And they talked about the special oppression of gay people, who are considered and treated by honks as the lowest form of human life, constantly joked about, degraded, and fucked over.

Some of this stuff did get a bit weird, like one sister with absolutely no voice tried to sing a tune, explaining that everyone was completely equal and her voice and songs were as good as anyone else that had played because "we're all people." It was awful. One girl came over and asked if that was Joni Mitchell singing. She was pretty spaced out.

"Will everyone please get off the scaffolding. Those lamps up there are heavy and will probably kill some people if they fall off."

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A group that played soon after Mitch and was really killer was Swallow, a super-high energy band from Boston. They played truly cosmic rock and roll, pluggin in on all the energy from the hundreds of tripping people out in front. Swallow's lead singer is a short, fat and blind dude, who can really sing like a powerhouse. People were screaming and shouting and dancing and generally getting it on, especially to their tune "Change the Nation."

"Brothers and sisters, and sisters and brothers, and brothers and sisters and sisters and brothers and brothers and sisters..... Someone's passing bad methadone in orange juice around the front rows. Watch out, we all want to live, and not kill ourselves with bad drugs..."

There was lots of music that day--it continued until early the next morning. Groups included Catfish, the Pride of Women from Detroit, who were pretty low energy except when Barbara Holliday of Ann Arbor sang "She's So Fine" with them (if they were really proud of being women they'd take off all that ridiculous make up), Elephants Memory from New York, NRBQ, Mother Earth, Phil Ochs, and lots of other smaller groups. Very few of the big name bands that were promised showed up - there was no Johnny Winter, Country Joe, Jefferson Airplane (although Grace Slick was seen backstage late Saturday night) or Grateful Dead.

But the spirit of the 100,000 people was everywhere, and Saturday afternoon and evening will go down as one of the most festive and at the same time political gatherings of our people, coming together to proclaim their new way of life, in opposition to the control/war addicts just a mile or two down the road. Drumming, chanting, singing and dancing continued throughout the night.

* * *

Early Sunday morning the helicopters started buzzing the crowd again, and row upon row of white-helmeted Washington police began to circle the encampment. Then came the announcement, "People, we have bad news. We have just been told that our permit is revoked. The police have asked us to leave these grounds and to pcik up our trash and remove it from the area... Everyone just stay together and cool."

So the music stopped, and Peace City began to disperse. It was a well-planned move by the pigs to break up the group, destroy communications among the people there, and scare lots of people into going home, all in an effort to thwart the massive traffic tie-ups scheduled for Monday.

The pigs succeeded--probably more than three quarters of the people split for home. Many would have left anyway by Sunday evening, having come mostly for the music and not the civil disobedience. The official excuse for breaking up the park was extensive narcotics violations, unsanitary conditions, and the fact that tents were erected, which is against park regulations. About 40 people refused to leave--they were arrested around noon.

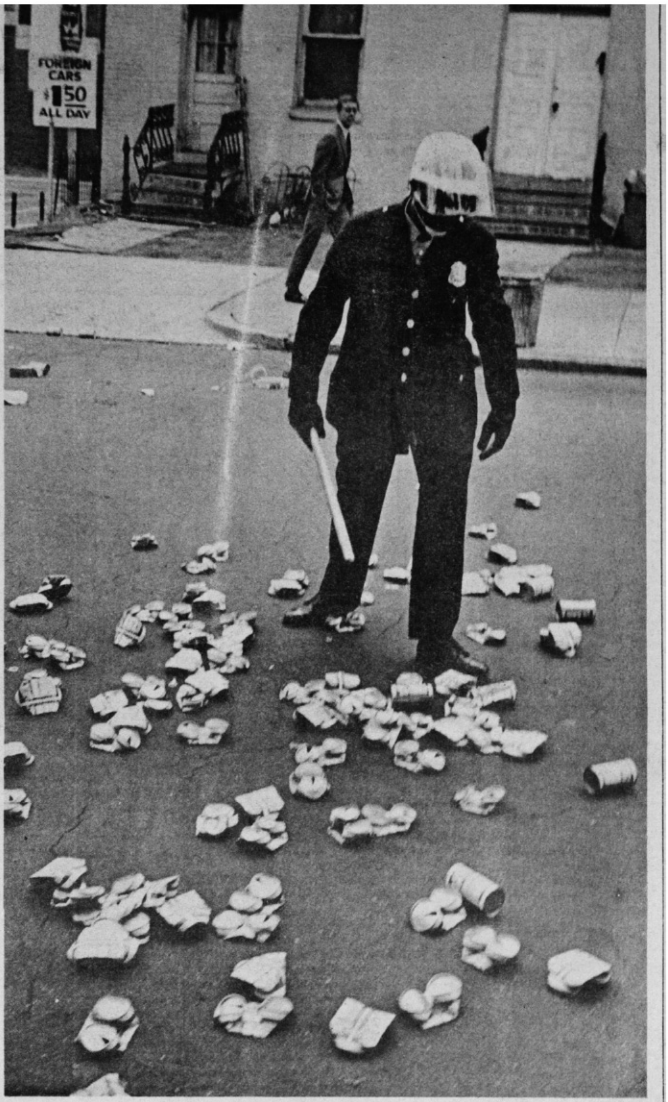
That afternoon people gathered at Washington area universities and planned tactics for the next morning. There were around a thousand people at the Michigan meeting, and spirits were high.

Monday morning came time to "close down the government." At best, the actions that took place could be viewed as a series of temporary, symbolic shutdown of Washington streets and highways. Rarely did an action last for more than 10 or 15 minutes. Police were well organized, much more so than the people engaged in the action, and were able to clear people away very quickly with little effort.

The disruptions started at around 6 a.m., and hit more than twenty targets throughout the city. A variety of tactics were used - people threw crushed beer cans and broken glass on to the street, picked up garbage bins and assorted mailboxes, even manhole covers, and threw them out on the asphalt.

Tires of parked cars and buses were slashed, people would open up the engines of buses and disconnect them while the buses waited for a red light. Purposely stalled cars tangled traffic everywhere--people would stall them, get out and start tinkering with the engine. This led to some hilarious scenes, with cops trying to get people to move their cars.

The favorite tactic was the sit down--actually sitting down in the street and blocking traffic with bodies. Some people came close to getting run down - these groups were usually quickly dispersed by police, only to regroup and sit somewhere else, until finally arrested.



COP CONTEMPLATES BEER CANS THROWN IN STREET WASH., MAY 3

There were many ugly scenes, and lots of tear gas. Washington police use CS gas, which is among the most potent forms. Government workers got gassed--at one point the doors to the Bureau of Engraving (where they print money) swung open and workers filed out, handkerchiefs to their faces, coughing and wiping their eyes.

Angry motorists, on their way to work, sometimes got out of their cars and fought demonstrators, throwing debris back at them which was cast onto the sidewalk.

And who will ever forget the sight of huge Chinook helicopters, just the same kind used in Vietnam for troop deployment, dropping gundreds of Marines on the grounds of the Washington monument. The troops, for the most part, seemed very sympathetic, and not at all anxious to arrest or hurt anyone. Lots of fists and v-signs were flashed by GI's while their superior officers weren't looking.

Later on in the afternoon the police began to go beserk and heavily overreact. The Medical Committee For Human Rights, which had handled the bad trips tent at Peace City and was taking care of getting people water for tear gas and general first aid treatment, became a special target. Six of their vans were seized, and medics with authorized arm-bands were arrested.

A complex communications system which the committee was using to call ambulances was completely smashed. Consequently, the committee members were forced to remove their armbands and red crosses and go underground, in order to treat the people that needed it without getting busted in the process.

There were many arrests in the morning, but things really started getting heavy at around 2 o'clock. Police cars began sweeping the streets, announcing that within certain areas anyone found walking the streets would be picked up and arrested on sight. Here began one of the most incredible mass arrests in U.S. history. By the end of the day more than 7,000 people were busted. Cops just cruised down the street, picking up every long hair and young person they found. Hundreds of people who weren't involved in the demonstration were arrested, including mothers and university professors.

No charges were lodged against those arrested until many hours later, and most of the cases will probably be dismissed for lack of evidence and specific detail as to where the person was arrested, etc. The police just wanted to clear the streets, so they arrested every longhair in

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MAY DAY

sight. The police state in operation.

People were taken to the city jails, until those filled up. The remainder were taken to a makeshift prisoner of war camp, a football field near John F. Kennedy stadium temporarily fenced off with barbed wire for the occasion. Several thousand people were herded inside, with no food or shelter. As the word got out people, including Congresswoman Bella Abzug, brought over food, and the people inside the camp found a huge tarp which they erected into a tent. The National Liberation Front's blue, red and yellow flag flew from atop the tent - someone had managed to sneak one inside.

At one point a large group of prisoners massed at a portion of the fence. A tear gas dispensing machine was brought into action, pumping clouds of painful smoke into people's bodies.

The prisoners were kept at the field till late evening, when they were brought over to the Washington Coliseum for the night. Most were released on Tuesday, after positing $10 collateral.

Also arrested on Monday was Rennie Davis, one of the main organizers of May Day. Rennie was charged with conspiracy to violate the civil rights of the citizens of Washington, and conspiring to block federal employees from getting to work. He was released the next day, along with John Froines, who was also arrested on the same charges, on $25,000 bail.

* * *

Tuesday morning saw more traffic-stopping, involving less people. The character of the Tuesday actions was more strictly non-violent, with very few aggressive actions. Later on, 3,000 people marched to the Justice Department and held a rally. Police surrounded the crowd and arrested 2,000 people with the help of more tear gas.

* * *

On Wednesday 2,000 people were arrested on the steps of the Capitol, while chanting, (like Chicago, 1968), "THE WHOLE WORLD IS WATCHING!" The arrests went without "incident" or gas, after a rally.

* * *

So that was Washington, or as much as has happened as we go to press Wednesday night. It was a very complex event, going from a festival of life--an affirmation of a new way of life, a new possibility--all the way to a violent protest against the government that resulted in 10,000 arrests.

We saw this weekend in Washington that we are not organized enough at this time to shut down the government militarily. The May Day Tribe hoped to create "a level of social chaos that America's leaders will be unable to accept." Yet the government seemed to have little trouble handling whatever chaos there was.

The government must be stopped, there can be no question about that. But even if we did shut down the government this week, what would we put in its place?

It's becoming clear to more and more of us every day that this government can only be stopped through our efforts at building an alternative to it--a true people's government that serves all of us and helps us take care of all our needs. The more we do everyday to make our alternative real, the sooner will it become obvious to everyone here in Amerika that the wholesale murder and the greedy, wasteful exploitation carried on by the government of the United States are not necessary--that the policies of this government are in fact the source of all the earth's problems.

It will take a long time, but it's the only way we'll succeed.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW!
David Fenton, Rainbow People's Party

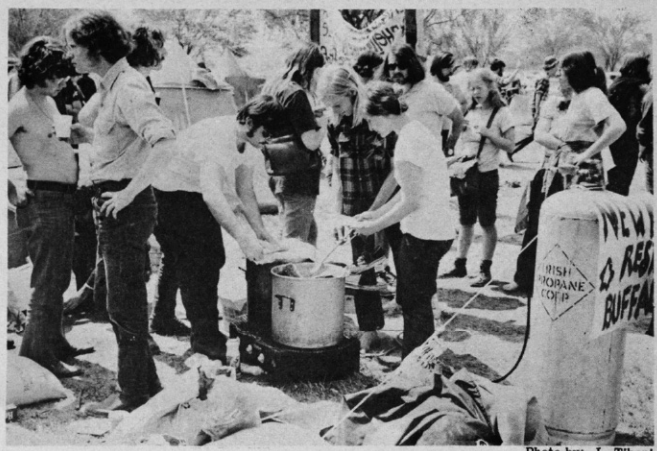


Photo by: J. Tiboni

Busted in Washington?

Washington (LNS)--Washington medical authorities are urging people who were arrested in the mass May Day busts to take precautions against hepititis. Several cases of infectious hepatitis were reported in the jails and detention camps.

Infectious hepatitis is most frequently spread through contact with fecal matter--so if your jail or camp had particularly unsanitary toilet facilities you should be especially careful. Other less usual ways of contracting hep include drinking (from a canteen), eating someone else's baloney sandwhich or smoking a communal cigatette.

If you were busted you should try to get a gamma globulin shot. In many places they are not free and can run to as high as $25; the shot also does not always prevent catching hepatitis.

The incubation (and infectious) stage of hepititis lasts around a month. So for the next month you should be careful to wash your hands after going to the bathroom Also give your friend(s) a break and avoid oral/genital contact for a month. Symtoms of hep (which appear from two to six weeks after exposure) include light brown urine, pain in the lower abdomen, nausea, a fever, listlessness, and yellowness of skin and eyes. Good luck.

May Day Criticized

A group of American revolutionaries active in the anti-war movement recently returned from a trip to Paris, where representatives of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam criticized recent anti-war demonstrations.

The Vietnamese at the conference urged the Americans to avoid tactics (like blocking traffic) that might alienate the American people, an incredible majority of whom are opposed to the war. And they urged that the anti-war movement concentrate on pressuring Congress to set a 1971 date for total troop withdrawal from Indochina. This suggestion came as a shock to most of the Americans at the conference.

The Vietnamese said that "our actions should not be alienating to the masses of the American people," explained Bob Greenblatt, who represented the New York People's Peace Treaty office at the conference. The more united the opposition to Nixon's policies, the harder it is for him and the corporations he fronts for to continue their greed-gobbling expedition.

They also voiced disapproval of the May Day slogan "If the Government won't stop the war, we'll stop the Government", saying it was "too military" and an idle threat which the demonstration could not accomplish. And they were disappointed that the mass arrests in Washington diverted attention from the issue of the war to questions of civil liberties.

Status of The Movement: The 'Energy Levels' Are Low

By JOSEPH LELYVELD

WASHINGTON.

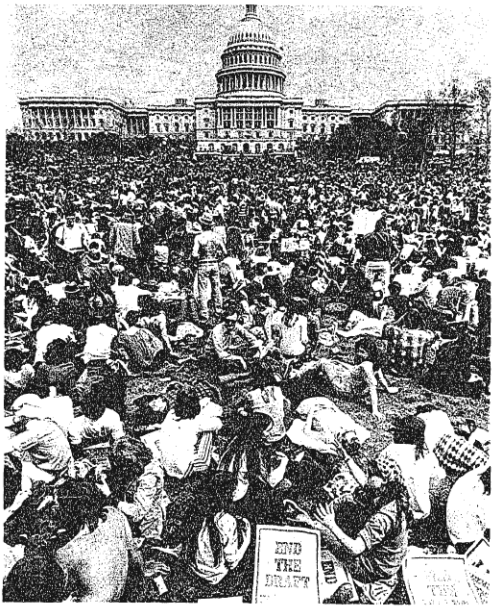
ALMOST by definition, the amorphous entity known as "the Movement" has never been the sum of its parts. Either it is more or less: more, when it counts in the masses of youth who are "into" rock music and dope but not usually politics, or the older "straights" who are deeply "into" antiwar and other protests but alien to the counterculture; less, when youth turns back on itself and the "straights" find other channels—their churches, political caucuses and legislatures—for opposition to the war. What's left then is a small, irreducible core. It was that core which was summoned to the First Congregational Church in downtown Washington on Oct. 22 for what was billed as "a grand jury investigation of citizen grievances and American power"—three days of talk to be followed, according to the advance schedule, by two days of rallies and "action."

Inevitably, at his first news conference, Rennie Davis faced the question, "What sort of turnout do you expect for your demonstration?"

"Oh God, the body count!" a woman muttered in tones of disgust.

Three times in the past two years the Movement had brought crowds of more than 100,000 to decry the continuation of the country's longest war. Only last April 24, a crowd of more than 200,000 massed on Capitol Hill to demand its immediate end. A week later, the authorities resorted to mass arrests—more than

JOSEPH LELYVELD is a reporter for The Times.



THE MOVEMENT: APRIL, 1971

Some of the 200,000 demonstrators massed on Capitol Hill to protest the Vietnam war.

THE MOVEMENT: OCTOBER, 1971

Some of the 700 demonstrators gathered at the Washington Monument.

12,000 of them in three days—in order to crush a group called the Mayday Tribe, which had vowed to "stop the Government" by stopping traffic in the city, if the Government wouldn't stop the war.

But none of these demonstrations provided the yardstick that was used, finally, on local TV news programs to measure the state of the Movement when the activists assembled here two weekends ago under the battered aegis of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. Instead, comparison was drawn to the crowd that had just gone to Dulles Airport to see the undefeated Washington Redskins off to Kansas City, and the even larger crowd that welcomed them home the next day after their first defeat. Even by that charitable standard, the body count on the Movement's most recent manifestation here was pitifully low. In plain fact, there were never more than 1,000 persons assembled in one place, scant justification for Pentagon orders that put 2,000 Guardsmen and 2,000 Regular Army troops on alert.

In more than one sense, the Movement had itself to blame. Its semi-annual mobilizations and moratoriums started the body-count game but wore out its following. At the same time, its angry harping on casualties and troop levels in Indochina created a yardstick for the war itself, by which the American public could now be persuaded that the carnage was "winding down," no matter how many hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs continued to rain on Indochina from high-flying American planes.

But the Movement measures its strength in ways that are less absolute and more intuitive, if not downright occult. Strength, according to its private calculus, is not a function of numbers but of "energy." Thus the low numbers were seen as the result of low "energy levels," not the reverse. If the weekend could raise energy, then numbers would follow. The constituency was still there, it was reasoned, as distressed and resentful as ever. Provoked by some new outrage or inspired by some new hope, it could still be "energized." And so, like engineers tinkering with a balky generator, the Movement "heavies" who organized the weekend kept an eye on the energy levels. If they were rising when it ended, they would judge the weekend, provisionally at least, a success.

According to an elaborate election-year strategy, for which the slogan "Evict Nixon!" had already been coined, the "grand jury investigation" being staged at the First Congregational Church, which wasn't even half filled for the occasion, would lead directly to the biggest demonstration yet, a turnout of one million persons in San Diego (population 680,000) next Aug. 21 for the Republican National Convention. If that projection turns out to be only 5—or even 1—per cent accurate, Oct. 22 is a date to remember, the start of something more than what proved to be a washed-out weekend in the Movement.

But how would the Movement get there from here? In the same manifesto in which he sketched the strategy, Rennie Davis candidly acknowledged the uncertainties and difficulties that lay ahead. "Many of

ANOTHER RALLY, ANOTHER BUST—Hands behind head, the Rev. James Groppi and Rennie Davis wait for their arrest forms to be filled out after leading the Oct. 26 march on the White House to "evict" President Nixon. Arrests totaled 298, hardly to be compared with Mayday's 12,000.

us are going through considerable head changes," declared this aging 30-year-old veteran of S.D.S., the old Mobe, the New Mobe, the Chicago Seven and the now defunct Mayday Tribe, in words that seemed to owe more to grit and hard knocks than "energy."

"We have seen that national mobilizations that build no permanent organization are inadequate, if not self-defeating. Our rhetoric and 'revolutionary' style have created obstacles to communicating with people. We see that a movement unable to relate to tens of millions of Americans who are angry and frustrated is a movement that is out of touch with its own country and time. . . ."

It was also, though Davis did not dwell on this point, falling out of touch with itself. The Mayday demonstration last spring had been seen, on the inside, as an experiment in new forms of decentralized leadership and nonviolent collective resistance, aimed at raising "the specter of social chaos, while maintaining the support, or at least the toleration, of the broad masses of the American people." Quixotic as this sounded, Mayday could claim a victory of sorts in the fact that more than 90 per cent of the prosecutions that resulted were eventually dropped or dismissed. ("You have to be brilliant to arrest 7,000 people and not find a single criminal," commented Dick Gregory, the comedian who's now wasting away in a fast against the war.) But a similarly lopsided proportion of the "energy" derived by the Movement was quickly dissipated in internecine battles over "sexism" and "élitism" in its leadership. In August, at a conference of the Mayday remnant in Atlanta, a deep breach opened between white, heterosexual males and a coalition of woman activists and gay liberationists. The women and the gays, who had been meeting in Atlanta before the heterosexual mates arrived, thought they were "into" a sensitive, new understanding of sexual roles and identities. The male intruders, with their insistence on their own very different preoccupation in the Movement, seemed insufficiently aware or humble. On this treacherous shoal, the Mayday Tribe foundered.

At the same time, "local action" was becoming the new Movement catchword among activists who returned from Washington in May saying they could no longer "relate to" anything national. "It was hate-the-heavies time," said an activist from Albany.

Of necessity then, the meeting in the First Congregational Church represented a new beginning, if it represented anything at all. The idea, or myth, underpinning the "investigation" was that this country had reached its present sorry pass because "the people" had been deceived by the Establishment politicians and media, which was something even the Establishment politicians and media were saying. If the Movement could arm itself with facts, it could then reach out to the people, ending simultaneously their deception and its isolation. To this end, a "people's media project" was videotaping the "grand jury investigation" for showing during the winter at campuses across the country. Based on the model being auditioned in the church, "people's panels" could be set up in every state with a major primary to clarify and proclaim the issues. So much for the theory.

IN practice, the new beginning was a protracted old-style teach-in, lasting three days, on every question the Movement feels deeply about or, at least, feels it should feel deeply about —from the war to Attica, from domesic repression à la John Mitchell to domestic repression à la Kate Millett, from welfare reform to the wage freeze. Three tables were arrayed in front of the pulpit under a life-size crucifix that loomed large as each succeeding "witness" was introduced, blending the word's judicial and evangelical meanings. The moderator, an ex-priest named Paul Mayer, who is a defendant with Philip Berrigan in the Harrisburg conspiracy case, told his bizarre congregation that sitting through as many as 18 speeches in a day would make them a "community of suffering," drawing them close to society's various victims.

The jury seated at the tables included a Young Lord, a youth who was wounded at Kent State, a former prisoner of the Vietcong, a 12-year-old school girl who chewed bubble gum, the Rev. James Groppi of Milwaukee, a Vietnam veteran, a former nun, a scholar on Asia and a Vietnamese who had graduated from Bryn Mawr. It also included George Jackson's mother, who, to the chagrin of the organizers, never reappeared after the first day.

The testimony was earnestly presented, and invariably confirmed what the audience was disposed to believe from the start. As in a regular grand jury room, the other side of the case was never heard. If one theme emerged more strongly than any other, it was that exotic electronic and computer technology was being perversely employed and refined in Vietnam to keep the war going dur-

ing the withdrawal of American troops and indefinitely thereafter. That same technology, it was predicted, would steadily become more available to an increasingly centralized police force at home for the tracking of radicals and black militants.

The war was not only coming home with a vengeance, it was winding up, not down, as bombing raids were increased to cover troop withdrawals. (This, it should be noted, is disputed by the Pentagon, which declares that American bombing in Indochina has been steadily, if gradually, diminishing ever since the Nixon Administration came into office. Official statistics show that the United States dropped 563,363 tons of bombs in Indochina in the first eight months of this year, compared with 740,610 in the same period of 1970. That, of course, is still a lot of bombs to drop on undeveloped tropical nations that have already been bombed more than any other portion of the planet. Indeed, if the war isn't ended very soon, the total Nixon tonnage—now approaching the three-million mark—will far exceed the Johnson tally on the official scorecards.) With touching faith, the panel was assured again and again that "the people" would force an end to the war on the basis of the National Liberation Front's seven-point program, which promises the immediate release of American prisoners in exchange for a firm date of withdrawal of all American forces —if only, somehow, the people could be brought to comprehend its terms and implications.

Two slightly discordant notes were sounded. Richard Falk, a professor of international law at Princeton, said the nation's leaders were guilty of war crimes but argued against making them "scapegoats" for military actions the American public has passively condoned for so long. And Staughton Lynd, the historian, pressed an ideological argument against the plan to concentrate the Movement's efforts in the election year on the "eviction" of Richard Nixon. That, he warned, would be untrue to the anti-imperialist analysis that had come out of the struggle against the war. Standing at the foot of the pulpit, a gaunt figure still wearing the raincoat in which he had entered the church, Lynd concluded in a flat, unemotional cadence: "Evict capitalism and begin to build democratic socialism."

THE speeches flowed into each other. The audience sat inert or wandered into the corridors to reminisce over old marches and arrests, or debate the strategy for the election year. A bearded graduate student in sociology named Marty, who asked that his last name not be used, cornered Rennie Davis in the hall and voiced his reservations.

All the Movement people he knew, Marty said, had faced hostility and jail sentences for several years now. The ordinary institutions of government had defined them as criminals; for them, whatever liberals may think, the police state had practically arrived. Naturally then, ordinary politics in America infuriated them. They weren't about to turn mimeograph machines for George McGovern. And they were much too angry and bitter to talk over the issues with ordinary voters.

"Our language is too strong," Marty said. "It's very hard to control your language after all we've been through."

"Not if you're a revolutionary," Davis snapped. Wiry, taut—dressed in lavender jeans and a tie-dyed shirt —Davis had a drawn look from weeks of frenzied organizing that his smoked glasses didn't quite conceal. "I'm not saying you should work for McGovern," he said. "But we have to get into the arena where most of the people are and most of the people in this country still believe in electoral politics."

"It's hard to swallow," said Marty's friend, Howie.

"That's a knee-jerk reaction," said Davis.

John Froines, another alumnus of Judge Hoffman's courtroom in Chicago, moved in to support Davis. "I think you have to open up, you have to open up to this discussion," he told the knee-jerk radicals. "If Nixon's re-elected, we're all going in." As he said that, his hand turned an imaginary key.

Three other members of the Chicago Seven were on hand. And they took three different stands on the electoral strategy. Jerry Rubin liked the idea so much he wanted to go to San Diego to set up an advance office. But the others, thinking that the day of the Yippie had long since passed, quietly sought to dissuade him. "I think he's hoping to repeat Chicago," a Movement organizer said. "And that's the last thing we want."

Tom Hayden, who was described as passing through a period of personal crisis after having been forced out of the Red Family collective in Berkeley, had a worried, distracted air. Maybe working for McGovern was the answer, he told friends. Now living in Los Angeles, he was prepared to be an advance man for the San Diego protest. But he was also "into" the Irish problem and his conversation kept returning to the Irish Republican Army, Ulster and his plans for a visit to Dublin.

The strongest doubts about the vaguely outlined strategy came from David Dellinger, an avuncular figure who had been engaged in protests when the others were infants. In his public statements, Dellinger only implied his criticism: "No shuffling at the top, no changes in the individuals up there, will change American society," he declared.

All through the weekend, con-

"The moderator told them that sit through as many as 18 speeches in a day would make them a 'commun of suffering,' drawing them close to society's various victims."

versations about the new strategy were regularly brought up short by the befuddling reminder that Henry Kissinger, at that very moment, was sitting pretty in Peking. A Yale student wore a Mao button on his blue cap but was teased about it so often that he finally slipped it into his pocket. Gently ridiculed as "a running dog of the Chinese ruling classes," he replied defensively, "I only wear it because it's a nice button."

Eqbal Ahmad—a Pakistani scholar who is one of those charged in the Harrisburg case—caught the note of tentativeness and irony in the conversations and recalled an Arabic phrase. "They are 'the sons of the widows,'" he said. "That's what the Arabs call people who have lost their moorings in the past and their vision of the future."

So long as they huddled together in the church, the Movement people could draw from one another a feeling that, somehow, they would prove equal to America. But the Movement had fueled itself on the alienation of middle-class youth, becoming not just unpatriotic but antipatriotic. It had learned to detest "the mother country." Now Rennie Davis was saying that the time had come to "relate to" housewives, factory workers and business executives, to focus their attention on the great issues in American life. How was that possible?

Even Davis, who spoke in vague terms of a new resistance movement that would confront the President and other candidates with the seven-point plan wherever they went, had trouble filling in the details.

"Everyone should take their parents to San Diego," he said seriously, adding that he had already discussed the idea with his father, a retired Government economist who was a member of the Council of Economic Advisers under Harry Truman. "No young person should go there by himself. We have to get the American people into the streets."

Asked late one evening what he planned to say in a speech the next day, Rennie joked, "I'm going to say the war is winding down. I'll say we like the free and open atmosphere that exists in this country under Nixon and Agnew . . . That may be the only way we can evict them."

WHEN the panel finally handed down its indictment, it was, predictably enough, an unstinting denunciation of "the organs of the American Government" and "the social and economic basis of American society." Whatever its merits, this was obviously not the most promising platform for a united front. Fortunately there were no Middle-Americans present as a Chicago radio announcer on the panel, Stan Dale, read the document in a resonant and impersonal voice, the kind that could be expected to break off and say, "We'll be back in an instant with our conclusions on America . . . after this brief message." When he was done, there were yelps and cheers, rhythmic clapping and a thicket of clenched fists in the air.

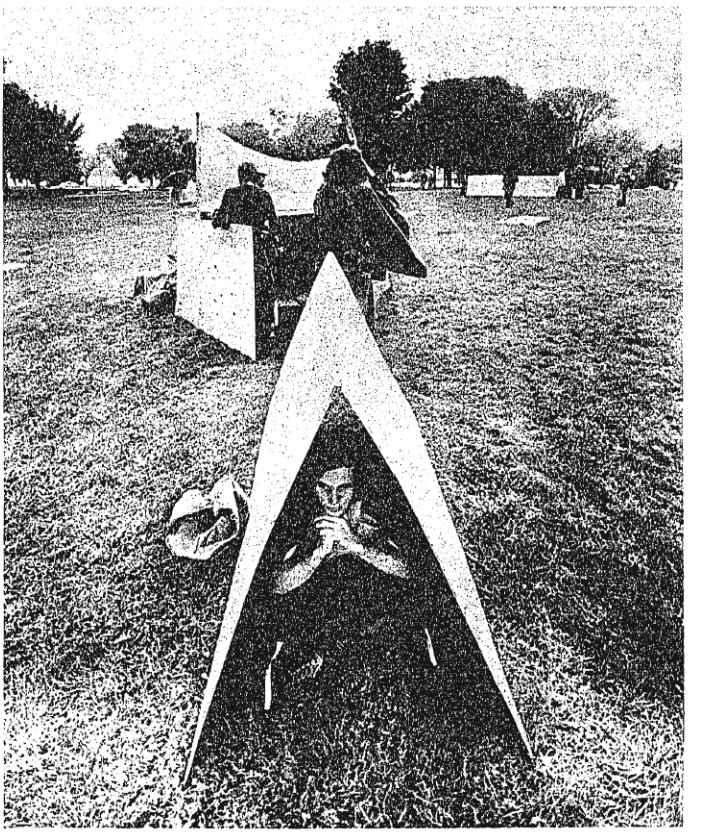
Then the question that had dominated private conversations surfaced for open debate: Could a movement that had tried everything from levitating the Pentagon to shutting down Congress still "relate to" American life?

"We need to shut down not just Washington but this whole goddam country," someone shouted. No, another speaker objected, what the Movement needed to do was present itself as "fundamentally American."

"We should divorce ourselves from America," someone else declared. "America means slavery and genocide, among other things."

David Dellinger rose from a pew in the middle of the church to resolve the two sides of the argument. "We can't go back to where we were 10 years ago," he said. "We have to start with the assumption that this is an evil society and conduct ourselves honestly from there."

The microphone was shunted to the back of the church to John Froines, who cradled it in both hands in a prayerful attitude. "We have developed a rhetorical style that speaks to ourselves and to no one else," he said, shifting his bulk from one foot to another. "Now we have to go back to the American people with a new kind of humility, a new kind of seriousness which recognizes that they are not, by and large, bad people, but people who are confused,



WASHED-OUT—A soggy demonstrator huddles under a makeshift shelter near the Washington Monument after rain forced postponement of the Oct. 25 peace rally.

frightened, manipulated and controlled. . . ."

On his way out to the lobby for a smoke, Froines shook his head and comically mimed an expression of great surprise. "Disgusting how moderate I'm sounding in my old age!" he snorted.

SURPRISINGLY, after the finding by the people's panel on Sunday that the President was "unfit" to govern, on Monday Mr. Nixon was to be given a last chance to avoid an eviction notice. Actually, the Movement was mixing a new metaphor with that of the "indictment." Desperate to connect its urgent sense of disaster to its tactics, it had succumbed once again to its own ingenuity. The idea was that a phone call would be placed to representatives of Hanoi and the National Liberation Front in Paris from a rally at the base of the Washington Monument. Then there would be a march to the White House to invite the President to come to the phone. If—as confidently expected—he refused, he would be symbolically evicted. All this to dramatize a slogan—that "Peace is just a phone call away."

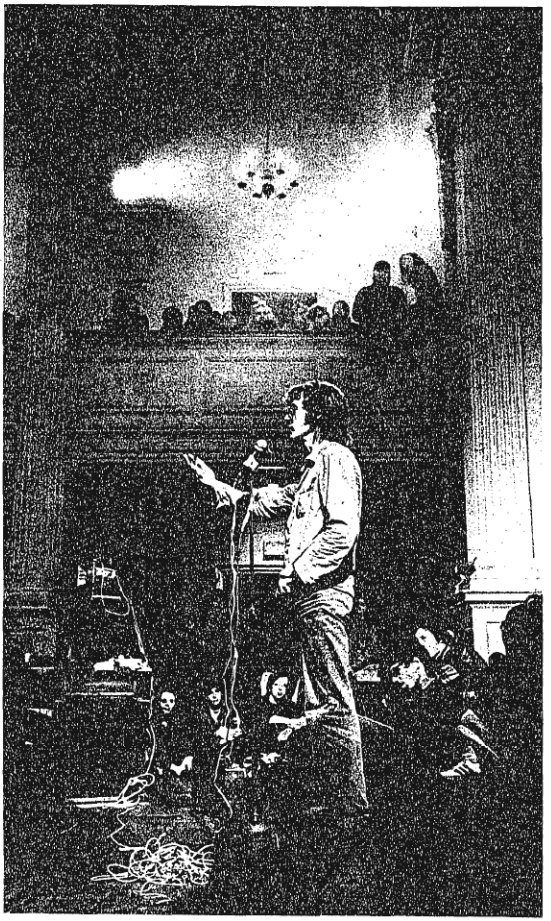
"This is not a public relations gimmick," Rennie Davis said in a strident voice at a poorly attended press conference Monday morning. "It should be the most important gathering of people in 25 years." This time at least, he was protesting too much.

Most of the world failed to notice when the most important gathering in 25 years was postponed that day on account of rain. The 300 bedraggled demonstrators stood in the mud for a couple of hours until the electricians said they were afraid to hook up the sound system.

"Energy levels are very low," a young woman at the People's Coalition office reported glumly.

"If people leave here on a downer, it will be a bad setback," a Movement strategist said. That metaphor, drawn from the drug scene, dominated the calculations of the next 24 hours. Somehow, the weekend had to end on a pleasant "high."

Monday night the soggy remnant gathered in a church again, this time the All Souls Church, for a vegetarian dinner, which was alleged to be Vietnamese, and for desultory arguments over tactics for the next day. There was a young woman who wanted "to deal with the police as human beings" and a young man with frizzy hair who argued that "violence should not be monopolized by the Government and corporations." Both ideas were eons old in the Movement. The young woman could have been in Birmingham in 1963. The young man was a throwback to 1969, which suggested to some activists that he might be a police *provocateur*.



PEP TALK—After the Monday washout, Rennie Davis tries to lift the Movement's flagging spirits at Washington's All Souls Church, where the group met for a "Vietnamese" dinner.

No one seemed to have a formula appropriate to 1971. A bearded man with stagy gestures got up to suggest "nonviolent violence." He then asked for names and addresses of those interested in a "clearing house" of information about the Movement. Many did not sign the papers he passed out. Some said they suspected he was an informer.

Paranoia was thickening as Rennie Davis got up. "There's a reason this Movement has leaders," a woman from Boston remarked, meaning it could not survive without the "manipulation" its members so often denounced.

Standing on the tiled floor, Davis moved restlessly around the circle to which he was confined by the cord on the microphone in his hand. His words were fiery. He spoke of "driving from political power the person who most represents this corrupt, racist, sexist, competitive system." But his advice was temperate: "More militant, more revolutionary tactics" had their time and place, he said, but nothing should be allowed to upset the campaign that was setting its sights on San Diego.

"Rennie sounded revolutionary as hell," a friend said when he was done. "But if you listened to what he was really saying, he was only slightly to the left of Hubert Humphrey."

TUESDAY morning, when it became evident that the turnout at the monument would be thin, a mood of

giddiness set in. "We're putting the assault plan into effect," confided an organizer who was carrying a walkie-talkie. "Prepare to launch rubber duckies!" he cried. "Away duckies! Away duckies!"

"Jesus freaks" from Florida roamed the crowd, advising activists to "get right with God" if they wanted to end the war. The crowd was so small there was speculation that the F.B.I. had vindictively withdrawn its infiltrators in order to disgrace the Movement. Still, a "high" was coming on. "Freak out, freak out, freak out now," sang a member of an Ann Arbor rock band. And there was dancing in the mud.

Dick Gregory spoke first. After six months on his liquids-only diet he looked famished and frail. He was too well-tailored to shake loose any thoughts of Gandhi. But something—maybe the white hat he was wearing, with its broad downturned brim—suggested a negative image of Albert Schweitzer. The heathen in front of him were mostly white. Instead of playing an organ, he cracked jokes. American youth could end the war, he insisted, if only they would exert their economic power. The comedian's proposal for "a nationwide boycott of turkey on Thanksgiving" got a good enough laugh. It might have been better if he looked better fed.

Rennie Davis gazed up the muddy hill over the heads of the crowd of 700 and uttered words that were brash, to say the least, given the circumstances. "We intend," he vowed, "to affect the outcome of the 1972 Presidential election."

There was more conviction in a plaintive ballad sung by a young woman who marked time with a lollypop in her left hand. "We are the children of Babylon," it went. "We are the ones born into the belly of the beast . . ."

Then someone announced: "In just a few minutes, the P.R.G. [Provisional Revolutionary Government]." A trumpet softly sounded the first few measures of "When the Saints Go Marching In."

A gimmick, of course. But as the measured, melodious voices of the enemy representatives in Paris blared up the hill toward the flag-girdled monument over loudspeakers hooked up by the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Company to the trans-Atlantic call, several varieties of absurdity could be experienced at once—the absurdity of the war in an era of easy communications, the absurdity of the tolerance that made this trafficking with the enemy possible and, most of all, the absurdity of the cold indifference, even contempt, on which that tolerance rested.

66'Rennie sounded revolutionary as hell,' a friend said. 'But if you listened to what he was really saying, he was slightly to the left of Hubert Humphrey.'99

As was ludicrously evident, they were not The People

"Is there any great dishonor for the United States to end a war that is prejudicial to American honor?" asked Nguyen Minh Vy of North Vietnam, speaking through his interpreter. Father Groppi assured him that the demonstrators felt nothing but shame. The young woman with the lollypop sang "The Battle of Ho Chi Minh."

"Ma Bell sure came through," a proud phone company man crowed.

"It's very heavy," a Movement organizer said.

AT last the speeches were done. In brilliant sunshine now, the remnant slogged through the mud to the top of the incline, then streamed down the other side behind an antic band that was playing "Yankee Doodle" after the fashion of Sergeant Pepper.

The White House shone with a mellow gleam. The marchers felt mellow, too. "We the People," began the notices they clutched in their hands, "hereby serve notice of our determination to evict you from public office." As was ludicrously evident, they were not "The People." That would have to be attended to later, if at all. In their own terms, they were still Movement "freaks," and as they paraded up 15th Street to Pennsylvania Avenue, they found release in all their old chants and songs, starting with the 1970 vintage and working back to the summer of 1963, the last year that was nearly good.

Rennie Davis, David Dellinger and Father Groppi—all of whom had announced their intention to take part in a ritual sit-down wherever they were stopped by police on the way to the White House—marched in the front rank. Their readiness to go to jail guaranteed that others would follow. In fact, 298 would be arrested, out of fewer than 500 who marched. The stories the next day wouldn't speak of the "new beginning" the weekend was supposed to represent. But they wouldn't bury the Movement either. The 298 was still a respectable total, even in Washington.

"How do the energy levels feel?" a Movement heavy was asked.

"The sunshine helps," he replied. "They feel good. But I don't know how long they'll hold up." ■

Daniel A. Foss
Ralph W. Larkin

The Roar of the Lemming:
Youth, Postmovement Groups, and the Life Construction Crisis

Following the movement of the 1960s, youth culture in the early 1970s was characterized by mass psychic depression[1] and some extremely bizarre phenomena: youthful ex-acidheads shaving their heads, swearing off drugs, sex, and hedonism and donning the saffron robes of the Hari Krishnas; the trial of mass murderer Charley Manson and his family; the rise of various Marxist sectarian groups out of the ashes of the New Left, such as the National Caucus of Labor Committees, Weather Underground, New American Movement, Revolutionary Union, October League, Communist League, and, on the West Coast, the Symbionese Liberation Army; the emergence of fundamentalist Christian sects such as the Children of God, the Alamo Foundation, and the World Christian Liberation Front among ex-movement participants; the development of the Divine Light Mission, headed by the teen-age "Perfect Master and Lord of the Universe," Guru Maharaj Ji; and, more recently, the mass suicide of over 900 members of the socialist People's Temple in Guyana.

The sociology profession has treated these phenomena

under such rubrics as the "new religions" (Needleman, 1971); the "new morality" (Yankelovich, 1974); or "social movements," even though they are not engaged in overt conflict with dominant institutions (Foss and Larkin, 1976). More importantly, sociological researchers have not adequately explained the rise of these religious, communal, and political organizations and their phenomenal success in the early 1970s. Almost all researchers have noted that these religious groups received an influx of ex-movement participants in the period between 1969 and 1973. Hashimoto and McPherson (1976) and Oh (1973), in their studies of Nichiren Shoshu, indicate that it appealed to "hippies" and young, educated, and disaffected youth in the early 1970s. Jesus Freaks and Hari Krishnas were almost exclusively recruited from these ranks. Judah (1974, p. 183) demonstrates that the Krishna organization (ISKON) emerged out of the counterculture and experienced its major growth spurt between 1970 and the middle of 1972, stabilizing in 1973 and 1974. This corresponds quite closely with observations of the Jesus Freaks (Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, 1972; Simmonds, Richardson, and Harder, 1974; Balswick, 1974; Adams and Fox, 1972). Curiously, there is no sociological research on the rise and development of left sectarianism at the same time. The closest we have to an analysis of these groups is O'Brien (1978). However, O'Brien focuses mainly on doctrinal disputes between Leninist parties.

A serious problem of the research in this area is that, in attempting to explain the popularity of these organizations to ex-movement participants, the researchers either debunk or take the newly converted members' explanations at face value. Thus Enroth, Ericson, and Peters (1972), who are pleased and relieved to see unwashed hippies become responsible Christians, view the young as resurrecting the spirit of early Christianity. Balswick (1974) claims they synthesize countercultural ideals with religious fundamentalism. Adams and Fox (1972) and Kopkind (1973) view Jesus Freaking as a form of copping out and privatization, a critique that has been made of the various religious organizations in the early 1970s by the left. None of the approaches lead us to a sufficient explanation as to why the phenomenon has occurred in the first place.

The closest sociologists have come to explanations as to why these groups arose and attracted ex-movement participants are found in Robbins, Anthony, and Curtis (1975), Mauss and Petersen (1974), Petersen and Mauss (1973), and Gordon (1974). Robbins, Anthony, and Curtis and Mauss and Petersen agree that the Christian groups operate as way stations to conventional lives for ex-freaks and countercultural types by enforcing rigorous discipline on their members. Mauss and Petersen also suggest that Jesus Freaking is a response to psychic and social deprivation. Gordon, however, focuses on what he calls *identity synthesis;* that is, adopting a third identity that subsumes two earlier ones. While these hypotheses are true, they ignore the really difficult questions, such as why ex-movement participants needed a road back to conventionality, why they needed to assume new identities, why this occurred primarily among formerly dissident youth, and why it occurred in the early 1970s.

In an earlier paper, we characterized these new organizations as "postmovement groups" and demonstrated their relationship with the youth movement of the 1960s (Foss and Larkin, 1976). It is our purpose in this chapter to sketch the structure of such postmovement groups and analyze why they arose when they did, why they tended to manifest exotic forms and bizarre behaviors, and most importantly, why these groups appealed to former movement participants.

The research reported here is based on (1) a three-and-a-half year participant observation study of the Divine Light Mission; (2) observation and reading of the documents of the following Marxist organizations: the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC, now the U.S. Labor Party), Revolutionary Union, Attica Brigade, October League, and Youth Against War and Fascism; (3) personal experiences with co-counseling, the Sullivanians, and the Hari Krishnas (International Society for KRSNA Consciousness [ISKON]); and (4) an examination of journalistic and sociological literature in the field. Some difficulty arose from the fact that some groups were overtly violent (for example, the Manson Family, the Lyman Family, and the Symbionese Liberation Army), thus precluding investigation; others were extremely circumspect about their internal workings and required infiltration (for example, the

Tony and Susan Alamo Foundation and Scientology); and most are extremely suspicious of sociological investigation. For example, even though the authors received the secret knowledge of Guru Maharaj Ji at their initiation into the Divine Light Mission and were active in it over a three-and-a-half year period, devotees regarded our sociological probing as a deviation from pursuit of the experience of the absolute and rebuked us accordingly. In their terms, we were too "mindy." However, one compensating factor was that most groups were highly media conscious, because they wanted to propagate the faith to the larger public.

Postmovement Groups

Postmovement groups are organizations that emerged in the wake of the youth movement of the 1960s. Each group attempted to reconcile the freak vision of an anarchist communard post-scarcity society[2] generated by the 1960s movement with the re-ascendance of dominant institutions and the attenuation of the movement. On some level, formerly dissident youth had to make peace with the dominant structure or die.[3] Because of the contradiction between the movement "vision" and the declining possibilities of its fulfillment, youth who were highly committed to the movement were left in the difficult position of reconciling the irreconcilable. We call this the "life construction crisis," which the postmovement groups attempted to resolve and which we will explicate in detail later.

It is obvious that only a small percentage of activist youth actually joined postmovement groups. Nevertheless, their cultural importance far outstripped their numbers. Postmovement groups were "indicative minorities" (see Foss and Larkin, 1976) and as such tended to draw the trends in youth culture to their logical (and often absurd) conclusions. In the same way that hippies were an indicative minority during the period between 1965 and 1967, the postmovement groups occupied the same position between 1971 and 1975.[4] Indeed, the variety observed among the postmovement groups and groups that share some postmovement characteristics serves to underscore the pervasiveness and depth of the cultural syndrome we are analyzing.

Postmovement groups can be classified according to their historical and cultural relationship to the white middle-class youth movement of the 1960s. Some groups evolved organically out of the decomposing youth culture at the end of the 1960s or later. In this category, we can place the Divine Light Mission of Guru Maharaj Ji, the Children of God, the Alamo Foundation, the More Houses, and many of the psychotherapies under the aegis of the "Human Potential Movement." Other groups were formed at least in part in order to repudiate some or all of the characteristic cultural manifestations of the 1960s either during the movement period or afterward. Such groups are the Hari Krishnas (see Judah, 1974), NCLC, and the Progressive Labor Party. Still other groups antedated the existence of the movement, sometimes by decades; did not appeal to freak youth during the movement period; and, after the movement's demise, received an influx of former movement participants and still younger people, all cast adrift as atomized individuals and demoralized by the prospects of the 1970s. These groups include Scientology, United Pentecostal Churches, various Trotskyist sects, and Nichiren Shoshu (Oh, 1973).

Postmovement groups took four forms: (1) Authoritarian communes such as the Metelica Aquarian Foundation ("Spirit in Flesh" Commune) in western Massachusetts, the Lyman Family in Boston, the Manson Family in California, and the More Houses in Oakland, California. Each of these communes was formed around a charismatic leader who was, more or less, deified by the followers and allowed to exercise almost absolute power over their lives (Foss, 1974; Feldon, 1972). (2) Mechanistic Marxist parties such as the October League, Revolutionary Union (which successively became the Attica Brigade and the Revolutionary Student Brigade), the National Caucus of Labor Committees (now known as the U.S. Labor Party), and the Symbionese Liberation Army (which combined the Marxist and commune forms). All these parties claim to be revolutionary vanguards, enforce on their members rigorous discipline, and demand strict obedience (O'Brien, 1978). (3) Oriental sects such as Nichiren Shoshu, the Harl Krishnas (ISKON), and the Divine Light Mission of the "Teen-age Perfect Master," Guru Maharaj Ji. All believed that, when the world learned of their mys-

tic experiences generated through meditation or chanting, the millennium would come about, and people would live together in peace, sharing a common level of elevated consciousness (Levine, 1974; Oh, 1973; Foss and Larkin, 1975). (4) Various Christian sects such as the Children of God, the Tony and Susan Alamo Foundation in Southern California, and various "Jesus Freak" collectives throughout the country. Their doctrine was similar to that of the Oriental sects, except that the central mystery was "allowing Jesus into your heart," which was the prerequisite for personal and world peace (Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, 1972; Gordon, 1974).

In our study of postmovement groups, we found that they cater to similar motivational syndromes and conform, more or less, to the following characteristics: (1) an authoritarian structure, (2) appropriation of a fragment of the vision articulated in the youth culture of the 1960s (peace, love, revolution, ego transcendence, and so on), (3) a nonconflictual stance toward society at large, (4) denigration of sensual indulgence, (5) minute regulation of the lives of their membership, (6) maintenance of a fierce exclusivity based on doctrines claiming a monopoly of the truth, and (7) the claim to be solutions to the meaninglessness of life.

1. Postmovement groups, regardless of whether their manifest goal was to transform the social order through the development of a revolutionary vanguard, as in the case of the Marxist sectarians, or through propagation of the faith, as in the case of the religious sects, developed an authoritarian structure, formally articulated with sharp boundary definition. Each of these groups developed a cult of personality around a single leader who served as an embodiment of the vision of the membership and whom they revered. In the religious groups, the leader became deified and was worshipped. Prabhupada, the spiritual master of the Hari Krishnas, Guru Maharaj Ji of the Divine Light Mission,[5] and Moses David of the Children of God are all examples of such deified leaders. Even when postmovement groups were established on nonreligious grounds, such deification occurred. Mel Lyman, the founder of "The Family," a Boston-area freak[6] commune, had proclaimed himself God by 1970. Victor Barranco, the originator of the More Houses in Oakland, California, became the spiritual father of the "marks" (his term) he exploits in a profit-making

scheme to rebuild old houses (Feldon, 1972). According to Feldon, Barranco induced young ex-freaks to rebuild houses without compensation and, when they were finished, charged them $200 a month to live in them. He also ran the Institute of Human Abilities, which amounted to having his devotees pay up to $65 for an hour in his presence. As for the Marxist sectarians, Lyndon Marcus (now La Rouche) of the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) has been credited with the ability to foretell the precise development of world capitalism for the next five years, down to a worldwide depression, culminating in the mass strike, in the midst of which the Labor Committee, knowing exactly what to do, will seize power (Foss, 1974).

Each of these groups was pyramidal in structure with line of authority highly articulated from the top down. The NCLC, directed by ex-efficiency expert Marcus, operated a tightly knit bureaucracy that measured its progress *by the hour* (Foss, 1974). The Divine Light Mission was rampant with "titleism" and had developed a centralized bureaucratic structure that spent most of its effort printing, filling out, filing, and data-processing forms that monitor organizational activity. Maharaj Ji himself held the title of "Supreme Chief Executive of the Mission" in addition to that of "Perfect Master and Lord of the Universe" (Foss and Larkin, 1975). Other, perhaps smaller, groups did not manifest bureaucratic structures. In these cases, as in the Lyman Family or the Alamo Foundation, the authority was patriarchal and came directly from the leader (Feldon, 1972; Cahill, 1973; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, 1972).

2. Each group appropriated a fragment of the freak vision, often using it as the basis of legitimation of the authoritarian structure. The servility of the members was used as evidence of spirituality, ego transcendence, or manifestations of peace and love (Levine, 1974; Foss and Larkin, 1975). When members allowed themselves to be subject to hierarchical authority, such personal subjugation was *prima facie* evidence of commitment to the propagation of love and peace or the historical necessity of the revolution.[7]

3. Postmovement groups developed nonconflictual stances toward society at large. Like their predecessors, youth of the 1970s believed in the inevitability of radical change; however, unlike

youth of the 1960s, they believed that social transformation could not be achieved by immediate action on and conflict with objective social reality but must be brought about by the attainment of spiritual perfection by the members and the diffusion of spiritual perfection to the population.[8] Where conflict did occur, it was not with the larger society but among postmovement groups competing with each other for constituencies or contending over minute differences in doctrine. For example, in mid 1973, the NCLC began "Operation Mop-Up," a campaign to destroy the Communist Party by beating up its members. At Millennium '73, a Divine Light Mission festival, thirty Hari Krishnas were arrested while protesting Guru Maharaj Ji's claim to Perfect Mastership.

4. All postmovement groups broke sharply with the notion, widely disseminated in the late 1960s among white middle-class youth, that removal of limitations on immediate gratification and rediscovery of the body was a necessary aspect of the transformation of the entire social order. Instead, they stood for an earlier cultural syndrome: They advocated self-discipline, self-sacrifice, hard work, systematic and orderly living, and renunciation of the pleasures of the flesh. All or nearly all of these groups discouraged uninhibited sexuality, and many encouraged sexual abstinence. Among the Jesus Freaks and the Eastern sects, renunciation of sexuality tended to show that one had attained spiritual perfection and that one was relying on the source of ultimate satisfaction, which lies within: on the holy spirit; Krishna, the Reservoir of Pleasure; Theta waves (in Scientology); the universal energy source (Divine Light Mission) (see Robbins and Anthony, 1972; Judah, 1974; Adamsand Fox, 1972; Malko, 1970; Cameron, 1973; Levine, 1974). Among the Marxist sects, sexual restraint seemed to be taken as a sign that one is "serious." A member of the NCLC once boasted to one of the authors, "I've got no time for girls. I'm too busy doing class organizing." O'Brien (1978) has also noted the cultural conservatism of Marxist-Leninist parties, which often led them to take reactionary positions on women's and gay rights issues. Some groups, such as the Children of God and the Hari Krishnas, have not discouraged marriage but have insisted that marital sex be intended exclusively for procreation.

5. These groups minutely regulate the everyday lives of

their membership. Short hair, conventional dress for men, and modest dress for women have been the norms in several groups. Most prohibited the use of substances defined by the conventional culture as drugs, and many banned alcohol as well.

In our study of the Divine Light Mission (DLM), we found they maintained a rule book called "The Ashram Manual," which listed page after page of rules, regulations, and injunctions concerning the behavior and demeanor of the *premies* (a Hindi word meaning "lover"), as devotees of Guru Maharaj Ji call themselves. It contained dress codes for male and female *premies,* daily schedules, and even advice on how to act toward parents; and it advised against hitchhiking—one of the main sources of mobility for many *premies* a few years before (Foss and Larkin, 1975).

6. All postmovement groups maintain a fierce exclusivity based on the claims of their doctrines and leaders to embody a monopoly of the truth. The fragmentation of the youth culture was most dramatically demonstrated in such claims of exclusivity. During the 1960s, as the vision developed, it was able to incorporate greater varieties of orientations and, because of its subjectivist and existentialist core, became more or less universally accepted, because it raised personal experience as the ultimate criterion of validity (Foss, 1972). Although postmovement groups gave lip service to the criterion of personal experience, those experiences that were the exclusive domain of the group became the basis of the arbitration of truth. For example, devotees of Guru Maharaj Ji could not seem to complete a sentence without including the word *experience.* However, to them "experience" meant experience *in the knowledge,* which those who had not been initiated into the secret meditative techniques of the Divine Light Mission could not possibly comprehend unless they too become devotees. Because the sole purpose of the organization was the propagation of the one and only truth, the organization became the embodiment of that truth, and membership in the organization was the only means by which one could have access to the truth.

7. In line with the freaks' characterization of conventional society as meaningless, postmovement groups offer themselves as remedies for the meaninglessness endured by average middle-class citizens and drug-soaked hedonistic hippies alike (and those that

did not make overt promises also seemed to attract members who joined at least in part out of a desire for a more "meaningful existence"). Whereas freaks of the 1960s found meaning in maintaining a position of defiance and opposition to the "plastic world," postmovement groups found meaning in escape from the complexities and incongruities of the material world (or the world of the mind) into a more transcendent, simplified view of the cosmos independent of material reality. Jesus Freaks recruited among "long-hairs" by denouncing the pointlessness of conflict or the hedonistic life and by claiming that the true Christian can stay permanently high on Jesus and obtain greater joy than can be derived from drugs or sex: "Try Jesus—God's eternal Trip!" (Adams and Fox, 1972; Cahill, 1973; Petersen and Mauss, 1973; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, 1972). They promised the end of all earthly mental anguish, which was said to be derived from being caught up in the toils of a society dominated by Satan. The Eastern cults promised the same thing, using different words: The material world is illusion, and a life committed solely to activity in the material world was bound to be meaningless and incapable of sustaining true happiness (Petersen and Mauss, 1973; Judah, 1974). Marxist sectarians promised a meaningful life by indicating that the individual could choose to swim either with the inexorable tides of history or against them (Foss, 1974).

Postmovement Groups and the Life Construction Crisis

The "life construction crisis" is not a part of the "identity crisis" that neo-Freudians such as Erikson (1950) state is necessary for adolescents to survive if they are to be autonomous adults. The focus of such "identity crises" is the paternalistic family, which is diminishing rapidly in contemporary society (see Kenniston, 1968; Friedenberg, 1959; Gillis, 1974; Kohn, 1969). Nor is it the kind of "cognitive dissonance" that occurs as a result of the failure of prophecy (Festinger, Reichen, and Schacter, 1956). Although closer to Kenniston's notion of the problem of the integration of the individual self into the social order experienced by youth (Kenniston, 1970), the life construction crisis is, on the one hand, more

historically determined, and on the other, much more acute in terms of the contradictions experienced.

Postmovement groups emerged in the early and mid 1970s to help youth resolve the contradictions and alleviate the psychic pain[9] resulting from the clash of two incompatible interpretations of social reality: one derived from the dominant ideology of bureaucratic rationality (as they perceive it) that pervaded the society of their formative years and the other derived from experiences of the 1960s that had given rise to the subjectivist "movement" ideology. The ideology of bureaucratic rationality gave heavy emphasis to the maintenance of the reality principle, centering on the importance of getting ahead, future orientation, cognition, deferred gratification, deference to authority, sexual inhibition, punctuality, blandness, and getting along and going along (Freud [1931], 1962). The "movement" attacked all such notions and, although it never had a really coherent ideology, gave greater emphasis to the pleasure principle relative to the reality principle. The "movement" ideology centered around joy, immediate gratification of impulses, creativity, open sexuality, sensuality, love, living in the present, ego transcendence, mysticism, and suspicion of *all* hierarchy.

With the ebbing of the movement in the early 1970s, the prospects for social transformation were visibly diminished, and formerly dissident youth were forced to accommodate themselves to the newly emerging reality and the reassertion of the authority of dominant institutions. There was no returning to the *status quo ante*. The vision of the 1960s had generated aspirations that were impossible to fulfill.[10] Caught between lives they despised and lives they could not possibly live, youthful dissidents of the 1960s experienced acute personal crises in the wake of the movement in the early 1970s.[11] The life construction crisis was subjectively experienced as a crisis in meaning. Activities previously experienced as revolutionary, antiestablishment, or intrinsically satisfying—such as the taking of psychedelic drugs, marching in protests, or participating in sex—were drained of their meaning as the movement subsided, leaving the movement participant with a feeling of senselessness and emptiness. What was previously pregnant with mean-

ing and purpose had become mechanical, disembodied, and a source of acute despair. Judah (1974, p. 164; emphasis in original) quotes a devotee on her reasons for joining the Krishnas:

> I was getting crazier and crazier each year, and more and more frustrated . . . *so what brought me to Krishna Consciousness was complete, overwhelming, undeniable, and irrevocable distress.* There was nothing I could do. I was even considering going through psychotherapy . . . I can't begin to describe how empty I was feeling. I had no association; I was seventy or eighty pounds overweight. I had no money. I considered myself completely mad. I had no education, no skills, no friends—I had nothing.

Members both of Christian sects and the Divine Light Mission made the claim that their saviors "filled them up." No longer were they empty containers.

Our research indicates that postmovement groups offered themselves as alternatives to the meaningless participation in a dying movement and to the meaninglessness of middle-class existence. In the first phase of their development, from about 1971 until early 1974, they tended to attract ex-movement participants who were forced to reconcile themselves to the end of the movement. This was a period of rapid expansion, and postmovement groups proliferated (see Note 4). However, beginning in about 1973, postmovement groups began to attract younger members who had not been participants in the youth movement but who tended to come from more traditional bourgeois culture and who, when faced with the more "liberated" youth of the 1970s, dropped out of the highly competitive sexual marketplace where they felt they had low exchange value. For the older members, the life construction crisis was more historically generated, while for the younger, more inhibited members, it was more developmental, arising more from the problems of the life cycle.[12] Following the postmovement period, which ended in 1975, groups that have been able to survive into the latter half of the decade cater primarily to

this stratum of youth, with the Unification Church of Sun Myung Moon being the prime example.

Because the life construction crisis was generated by the collision of two incompatible realities, the postmovement groups resolved the contradiction through the determination of a fixed absolute point of reference that stood apart from, repudiated, or subsumed both of the rival interpretations of social reality.[13] The Marxist vanguard parties tended to adopt ideologies that repudiated both the dominant and movement interpretations of reality by imposing defiantly obsolete interpretations of reality based on Marx's description of mid-nineteenth-century capitalist society (O'Brien, 1978). Some fundamentalist Christian sects did the same thing, using a literal interpretation of the Bible (Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, 1972; Petersen and Mauss, 1973). The more gnostic Christian sects and the Oriental sects subsumed rival interpretations by focusing on more "ultimate" questions than those dealt with by either bureaucratic rationality or the subjectivist ideology of the youth culture. That is, the phenomenal world and sense data became merely illusory and changeable surface phenomena, which only lead to idle speculation about a reality that by virtue of its mutability was manifestly false. Behind and beyond these illusions of the mind was the "true and absolute" reality of God realization, which transcended mere mental speculation, was infinite, eternal, and unchanging (Judah, 1974; Levine, 1974; Foss and Larkin, 1975). This truth was represented as entirely external to the individual, as was the case with the Marxist sects that taught different versions of the comprehensive theory of dialectical and historical materialism and simultaneously offered a "vanguard" organization whose ultimate mission was to accomplish the consummation of the historical process (Foss, 1974). More commonly, however, the absolute truth was located partly "inside" and partly "outside" the individual. The group promised the individual a subjective experience more "fulfilling," "transcendental," "pure," or "divine" than may be derived from either the chemical and sexual indulgences of the youth culture or the pursuit of a conventional middle-class life pattern. ("Guru Maharaj Ji gives you the knowledge you can't get in college!" was a common aphorism in the Divine Light Mission—Foss and Larkin, 1975.) At the same time, the truth was manifested

in the leader or spiritual master who revealed it and in the hierarchy he had established and to which he had delegated the task of propagating it.

The ideologies and subcultures of postmovement groups as a rule scrambled elements of both conventional and freak interpretations of social reality. But people attracted to these groups were in search of a reality so ultimate that contradictory interpretations of *social* reality could be shrugged off as minor quibbles. They therefore compulsively searched for some form of the ultimate. The postmovement group accordingly obliged by doing the following: First, it furnished an interpretation of reality centered around absolute truth. Second, it systematically manipulated fears and anxieties about straying from concentration on the ultimate (Richardson, Harder, and Simmonds, 1972) and furnished a system of rewards, punishments, and peer-group pressures to ensure that the individual at least try to appear to other members to be firmly concentrated on the goal. Third, it relieved the believer of the necessity of becoming an individual by condemning the rival ideals of middle-class individualism, "doing your own thing" in pointless revolt, and pecuniary accumulation in the corrupt outside world (Judah, 1974; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, 1972). Fourth, it systematically attacked the concepts and assumptions about social causality, social organization, and the legitimacy of hierarchy that the individual had derived from the "outside world" and did so most rigorously when such concepts and assumptions were applied to the organizational structure (or patriarchal hierarchy) itself (Foss and Larkin, 1978).

Concepts and assumptions about social behavior and social relations were most commonly attacked by dissociating from all unauthorized mentations. Especially for lower-ranking members, the group norms prescribed that all verbal expression be accompanied by evidence of concern with the ultimate. There was a consistent tendency for these groups to prohibit "thinking" as spiritually dangerous, conducive to animalistic behavior, or symptomatic of mental illness (Cahill, 1973; Feldon, 1972; Adams and Fox, 1972; Levine, 1974). The struggle against the ego made possible the perfect subordination of the believer to the leader and the proper performance of one's duties in the leader's scheme of things. The

simultaneous liquidation of both ego and thinking was therefore closely linked in postmovement ideology.

The Hari Krishnas were strictly enjoined against "mental speculation" and were taught that vain "philosophies" were part and parcel of the decline of civilization. Levine (1974, p. 98) cited one of Prabhupada's maxims: "If you begin a sentence with 'I think,' you better end it in the closet." Hari Krishnas spoke of "the tongue" in exactly the same way that DLM *premies* spoke of "the mind": as uncontrollable, treacherous, endowed with a malicious life of its own (Foss and Larkin, 1975). Levine (1974, p. 163) quoted a devotee: "The tongue is an uncontrollable clown, a juggler, a spy in the house of God." To avert subversion by the tongue, it was best to keep it occupied by chanting the names of God.

To DLM *premies*, the "mind" was a tormentor that "keeps jumping around from place to place." The knowledge "stills the mind" and brings it to a "center point." To "the mind" was attributed a malevolent will of its own; "the mind" sought to preserve its own existence against the threat represented by the knowledge. DLM attitudes toward "the mind" were partially revealed in a skit performed at Guru Maharaj Ji's birthday party on December 10, 1973, where it was portrayed in Devil costume. The *premies* took seriously Guru Maharaj Ji's Third Commandment, "Leave no room in your mind for doubt." They gave *satsang* (literally, "company of truth," applied to testimonials given by *premies*) to each other as much as possible in the course of conversation such that only a few standard themes could be expressed (stories of the holy family and mahatmas—Mission "Holy Men"; praise of the holy family and Guru Maharaj Ji in particular; the knowledge—mystical teachings of Guru Maharaj Ji; how I received knowledge; love; peace; how soon it will be before everyone has this knowledge; and so on). An individual who failed to give sufficient *satsang* in the course of conversation, using the proper inflections and gushes, even if he or she had received knowledge, was not to be trusted (Foss and Larkin, 1975). Researchers of the Jesus Freaks found similar syndromes that included fearing and loathing of the mind. Adams and Fox (1972) found that Jesus Freaks used gnostic experiences to avoid thinking about problems. Richardson, Harder, and Simmonds (1972) claim that the Jesus Freaks learn a language of "nonthought."

The pain generated by the life construction crisis could be characterized by postmovement groups as *needless* pain self-inflicted by deviation from the absolute truth. Yet the path to the realization of the infinite was also fraught with difficulty and pain, as many initiates of postmovement groups who were originally promised instant enlightenment found out. Yet the pain generated by the quest for the absolute was legitimated in postmovement groups as the pain of *growth* as opposed to the pain of nothingness and despair (Judah, 1974). Thus, members of postmovement groups would undergo what an outsider might consider suffering without admitting it except as a process leading to greater joy. NCLC members claim they have transcended the bourgeois ego and have become true beings. Among the religious sects, there was a celebration of surrender and a fierce pride in having overcome the difficulties of the spiritual path. A Hari Krishna devotee said, "The personal battle is the story, the defeat of *maya* [a Hindi word that, roughly translated, means "illusion" and refers to the world of sense data], the vanquishment of *maya's* ego. And the death of sex, daughter of *maya's* ego, is only a subplot" (Levine, 1974, p. 163).

Whether the goal is to be a true revolutionary or a seeker of God, within the crucible of the postmovement group, former definitions of selfhood and former notions of social reality are burned away as the "new person" is forged with his or her eyes focused only on the "ultimate goal." Lapses that create pain are in turn lessons for future behavior, in which the postmovement member attempts to purify him- or herself in preparation for the apocalypse (Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, 1972; Richardson, Harder, and Simmonds, 1972). This state of continual preparedness and vigilance for deviations in oneself and one's fellows not only allows the postmovement group member to negate both conventional and movement interpretations of reality but also helps him or her to shut them out of the mind, because *any* considerations of alternate interpretations of reality are *prima facie* evidence that the individual has lost sight of the ultimate goal and is needlessly causing him- or herself grievous pain.

Thus the pain of the life construction crisis was alleviated through circumvention. The world that generated it was trivialized: The vision of the 1960s was simultaneously effaced and trans-

formed into a "new consciousness" in which various fragments of the vision were incorporated into more "ultimate" concerns, competitive struggles that created much fear and anguish were avoided, and, because postmovement groups maintained ideological opposition to conventional existence and some mode of "alternative life-styles," their members were able to support the belief that they were building a new society that fulfilled the (revised) vision of the 1960s.

Notes

1. The psychic depression was noted by *Newsweek* Magazine in June 1970. They stated that college students saw Kent State not only as the expression of a corrupt system but also as a defeat for dissident youth. Since Woodstock in August of 1969, the "counterculture" was showing unmistakable signs of degeneration: the defeat of People's Park in September, the Altamont fiasco in December, the uncovering of the Manson Family in early 1970, and, finally, the Kent and Jackson State killings. To top it off, there was no end in sight of the Vietnam War. Other commentators on the onset of psychic depression among youth in 1970 are Mehnert (1976) and Hendin (1975).

2. Probably Abbie Hoffman (1968, 1969) was the best formulator of the freak vision of the 1960s. He emphasizes the anarchist-communard postscarcity view in his writings. More academic views of the 1960s vision exist in Roszak (1969) and Foss (1972). The postscarcity argument is made by Bookchin (1971) from a "serious" left perspective.

3. We are quite serious about this. Two close activist friends of one of the authors committed suicide within six months of each other in 1973. Judah (1974) notes that many seekers claim that if they hadn't found Krishna Consciousness they would have died. Our own research indicates a similar level of desperation among devotees of Guru Maharaj Ji. Judah also cites a case of a young man who was in and out of the Hari Krishnas and finally committed suicide. During our study of the Divine Light Mission, there were three suicides among ashram residents. The *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1975) shows that between 1970 and 1973 the suicide rate for males between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four rose from 13.5 to 17 per 100,000 and that

the rate of increase was double that of the previous decade. Between 1960 and 1970 young male suicides increased at the rate of .49 per year, from 8.6 per 100,000 in 1960 to 13.5 in 1970. The average rate of increase between 1970 and 1973 was 1.2 per year.

4. There is a rare unanimity on this point. All researchers cited in this work adhere to the notion that the groups they studied began in the late 1960s or early 1970s. Those who studied their groups over periods of several years note that the groups they studied stabilized between 1972 and 1973. For observations of Marxist sectarians, see O'Brien (1978) and Foss (1974); for Jesus Freaks, see Mauss and Petersen (1974) and Simmonds, Richardson, and Harder (1974); and for Hari Krishnas, see Judah (1974, p. 183).

5. All observations of the Divine Light Mission, Guru Maharaj Ji, and his devotees come from Foss and Larkin (1975).

6. The freaks evolved during the most radical phase of the white middle-class youth movement in 1968 and 1969. Also called freak radicals and "prairie people" within the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), they combined a radical critique of American society with cultural dissidence. A synthesis of the New Left and the hippies, they tended to live in communes, use psychedelic drugs, avoid work, and experiment with a wide variety of sexual indulgences while concurrently reading the writings of Mao Tse-tung, glorifying the heroics of Ché Guevara, and rooting for the National Liberation Front in Vietnam.

7. Judah (1974, p. 125) notes that most Krishna devotees acknowledge they were against all authority in the late 1960s. Later on, he quotes a devotee as saying (1974, p. 171)—in response to the question, "You have no difficulty at all accepting the fact that (Prabhupada) is the supreme authority? And that he can tell you exactly what to do with your life?"—"No! No question at all! When you accept the spiritual master, it is understood that you will follow perfectly the dictates of the scripture." Judah interprets the willingness of the Krishna devotees to subject themselves to authority as indicative of the possibility that rebellious youth "were actually seeking an authority by which they might live" (Judah, 1974, p. 127). Although he hedges his bets by advising against overgeneralizing, Judah is at pains to explain this particular inversion of 1960s culture. Judah's problem is that he accepts the devotees' redefinitions of their past at face value without analyzing the devotees' purposes in the redefinitions. As was the case in the *premies* of

the DLM, old sins were exaggerated and cultural inversions justified on the basis of new means to old goals; for example, changing the world. Such self-serving redefinitions were, in themselves, attempts to bridge the life construction crisis described here, which Judah overlooked.

8. From this, we do not in the least exclude the Marxist sectarians, for, while the latter claimed to be "materialistic" and "scientific," to use the "dialectical method," to be opposed to "antiintellectualism," and to be striving for a proletarian class revolution on the material plane, they were faced with the undeniable fact that the working class resolutely ignored them. The proletarian revolution would therefore come about through the inevitable working out of the contradictions of capitalism, which for at least the immediate future are outside control of the sect members but which, when they should ripen, will make the working class properly class conscious. For this reason, the Marxist sectarians' proletarian revolution had precisely the same subcultural function as the Jesus Freaks' Second Coming of Christ—since the apocalypse could not be advanced through immediate action in the material world, it was best to preoccupy oneself with the attainment of the Marxist version of spiritual perfection—that is, true consciousness—through thorough assimilation of the sect's version of Marxism, study of the sect newspaper and pamphlets, and rote learning of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Enver Hoxha, and Kim Il Sung. True consciousness divorced from practice and thus became an end in itself.

We might add that the attenuation of conflict has been thoroughly documented in the literature. See Richardson, Harder, and Simmonds (1972), Kopkind (1973), Robbins, Anthony, and Curtis (1975), Adams and Fox (1972), and Howard (1974).

9. Although many sociologists seem to shrink from such a term as *psychic pain*, the term describes quite accurately the subjective experience of ex-movement participants in the early 1970s. The testimony in Judah (1974), Petersen and Mauss (1973), Enroth, Ericson, and Peters (1972), Adams and Fox (1972), and our own work (Foss and Larkin, 1975; Foss, 1974) all attest to the psychic difficulties of youth in the early 1970s. See also Note 3.

10. This is an unavoidable consequence of all social movements, successful or not. For an elaboration, see Foss and Larkin (1978)

11. Evidence for this assertion will be found in Gordon (1974), Petersen and Mauss (1973), Judah (1974), Robbins, Anthony, and Curtis (1975), and Foss and Larkin (1975).

12. Our research indicates that the newer arrivals in post-movement groups tended to be more from working-class backgrounds, have a more rigid and doctrinaire approach to their beliefs, and had little knowledge and awareness of the revolt of the 1960s.

13. Gordon (1974) notes that alternative identities are subsumed (or consolidated) within the newly taken Christian identity. Our position concerns alternative and contradictory *reality systems*, of which personal identity is but a part.

Who pays?

Demonstrators lured into drugs, sex

By GLENN D. EVERETT
Times
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Deputy Mayor Graham W. Watt of Washington has given the bad news to the nation's taxpayers.

Efforts by the Mayday Tribe, under the leadership of Chicago Seven defendant Rennie Davis to tie up the city with massive protest demonstrations and stop the government cost the city of Washington more than $2,500,000. And the municipal government thinks that the taxpayers of the nation, rather than just local residents, ought to foot the bill.

The city of Washington has a valid point. The municipal government is nearing bankruptcy and the bill for police and firemen's overtime, for hundreds of National Guardsmen called to duty, and for the thousands of extra days of labor put in by sanitation crews to clean up the mess left behind by those who camped out in city parks should hardly all be the responsibility of local citizens.

In fact, Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D., Hawaii) who is chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on the District of Columbia, has announced that he will ask the Senate to increase the contribution the Federal government makes to the city to $200 million a year from its present $133 million.

"This is not just in place of the taxes the government would pay on all its buildings and installations, if it were paying real estate and other taxes private industry bears," said Sen. Inouye. "This city has to play unwilling host to thousands of demonstrators who come here for the avowed purpose of disrupting it and the burden is becoming intolerable.

The city of Washington is paying a high price for the demonstrations. Although police kept traffic moving and nearly everyone got to work on time despite the threat of the militants that they would make life "intolerable" for the people who work for the government, private business in Washington is suffering heavy losses.

The city's hotel association disclosed that during the first four months of 1971 the average rate of occupancy in its major hotels was running only 52 per cent. In other words, on the average night half the hotel rooms in Washington are vacant. One major downtown hotel admitted its occupancy rate was only 29 per cent.

Tourist trade, an important source of revenue to local restaurants, theaters and stores, is down an estimated two-thirds this spring. This means that many residents are losing jobs. It also means the District of Columbia is losing revenue from sales tax on hotel rooms, restaurant meals, and sales to tourists, as well as D.C. income tax on merchants' profits and on their diminished payrolls.

Since the city of Washington simply cannot meet the extra costs for police and sanitation work, the taxpayers of the nation, as a whole, are going to be presented with the tab for Rennie Davis' activities.

A cogent illustration of how expensive some of the aftermath may be was given this writer by one of the city's leading medical specialists in the field of urology.

"I wish I could have had a couple of you newspapermen with me this morning," said the eminent physician. "They called me over to George Washington University Hospital at six o'clock to help them with the emergency.

"There in one ward we had 27 girls who were down in West Potomac Park and who had been talked into taking some orange juice that had LSD in it. But the LSD turned out to be laced with strychnine.

"That is a dangerous drug combination, especially for those who have never used it before," said the doctor. "I just wished we could have had pictures of that ward with those girls strapped down, hallucinating and screaming. Some of them had pulse rates of over 200. Our medical students manned a tent in the park all night for the kids with 'bad trips' and, fortunately, we pulled them all through.

"They asked me if they should catheritize them," he added, with a faint smile, "and I said to catheritize the whole bunch. I want them to remember this episode and I don't want them to repeat it. And when they wake up, they aren't going to feel very good."

The medical professor added that he anticipated a wave of venereal disease in the wake of the demonstrations.

"The ones promoting these demonstrations bring in the drugs and give them to the girls because they know it will hallucinate them and under its influence, they will have sexual intercourse with any male who comes along," the medical man explained. "I am convinced that the lure of 'free sex' is one of the real inducements that gets hundreds of young men involved in the violent demonstrations and they have to get the girls to provide it."

"Nearly all of these girls probably contracted syphilis and gonorrhea," he said. "Half of them will get pregnant and want abortions. Some of them will contract hepatitis and will have six months of intensive medical care and bear the scars of impaired liver function the rest of their lives."

"Only a couple of these girls were students at our university," he added. "Who's going to foot the bill for all this medical care? We are just about out of money. The taxpayers are going to have to — the people whose jobs the demonstrators were going to interrupt.

"Meanwhile, why didn't your news media have TV cameras down in my ward?" he asked. "They could really have showed something."